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Without Concealment----Without Compromise.

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, Corresponding Editor.

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Selections

PROCEEDINGS OF A CONVENTION OF SOUTHERN MEMBERS OF CONGRESS.

JOHN C. CALHOUN'S MANIFESTO.

From: Washington Union.

CHAMBER OF THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES, WASHINGTON, Dec. 22, 1849.

Agreeably to a previous notice, at 7 o'clock, P. M. the following Senators and Representatives in Congress, from the Southern States assembled in the Chamber of the United States Senate, to wit:

OF THE SENATE—Messrs Hunter, Foote, Hammond, Johnson, Meriwether, Pettusch, Turney, Rusk, Calhoun, Butler, Dawson, Mason, Westcott, Johnson, Mallory of La. Toombs, Sebastian, Downs, and Johnson of Ga.

OF THE HOUSE—Messrs. Inge, Clingman, Harris, Houston, of Ala. Cobb, of Ala. Bowdon, Featherson, Tompkins, Brown, of Miss. Hammond, Lea, Sims, Boyce, Woodward, Boyd, Peyton, Cobb, of Ky. Thibodeaux, Kaufman, Phillips, Barrow, Thomas, Staunton, Chase, Hill, Johnson, of Ark. King, of Ala. Dawson, Jones, of Ga. Stephens, Lumpkin, Cobb, of Ga. Stephens, Toombs, Wallace, Simpson, Woodward, Hunter, Harris, of S. C. Venable, Meade, Finney, Boccock, Boyle, Bealer, Pendleton, Bedinger, Preston, Fulton, M. J. Johnson, Chapman, and McLean.

General Thomas Metcalf, Senator from Kentucky was elected President; Mr. Gayle, of Alabama, first Vice President; and Mr. Atchison, of Missouri, second Vice President. Mr. Venable, of South Carolina, was chosen Secretary.

The President having taken the Chair, Mr. BAYLY of Virginia presented the following Preamble and Resolutions:

Resolved, That this meeting, composed of a portion of the Senators and Representatives from the slaveholding States in the Congress of the United States, deeds sincerely express a firm determination to maintain and defend the Union, and the Constitution against every aggression, and that they will support the Government of the United States in all measures warranted by that instrument.

That they most solemnly declare a warm attachment to the union of the States, agreeably to the understanding and intention, as manifested by the Constitution of the United States and the history of its formation, to maintain which they pledge their individual honour; and that for this end it is their duty to watch over and oppose every infraction of the principles which constitute the only basis of that union; because a faithful observance of them can alone secure the existence and the blessings of Liberty to themselves and their posterity.

That the Government of the United States is one of delegated powers, limited by the plain sense and intention of the instrument by which it was created, which is the only legitimate source of them; and all powers not delegated by it to the General Government nor prohibited to the States are by its express terms reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

That no authority is conferred by the Constitution of the United States, upon the Congress of the United States, to impose or destroy the right of property in slaves in the States, the District of Columbia, the Territories of the United States, or any other place whatever; nor to prohibit the transfer of Slaves from one place to another, except in the power delegated to it over the foreign Slave Trade, which has been fully assessed.

That any act of Congress designed to impair or destroy the right of property in Slaves in the States, or any act calculated, or to prohibit the transfer of Slaves from one part of the United States to another, would be a violation of the gerous violation of the Constitution of the United States, and inconsistent with its compromises and guarantees, without which it would not have been adopted.

That the fervor the late efforts made in the Congress of the United States and elsewhere to excite prejudice, with the object of Domestic Slavery in the District of Columbia and the Territories of the United States, and to induce the slaves between different sections of the Union, have met with but little or no portion of the support of the Slaveholding States and their Representatives, is of the most alarming and dangerous character, and, if those efforts are renewed, it may reasonably lead to the dissolution of the union of these States.

That in view of the rapid strides with which those efforts have progressed of late years, in spite of argument and remonstrance on our part, we cannot but consider the peril so imminent as to demand, of the necessity of more effectual interposition, for the purpose of arresting the evil and maintaining the rights of the citizens of the slaveholding States.

That the fundamental principles of the Union is perfect equality of rights among States which compose it; that inequality relative to the common property of all, to impose conditions and restrictions, in the enjoyment of it, upon the citizens of some of them which are not imposed upon the citizens of others, would place the former in a condition of inequality, inferiority, and degradation incompatible with a continued union of the States.

That a passage of a law of Congress, prohibiting the citizens of any of the States, peaceably to the Territories, with any property as they possess, in territories of the United States acquired in a war in which all the States participated, and which would be to impose such conditions and restrictions to which it would be impossible for freemen, with honour to submit.

That in all cases of the character of the one in question, the Slaveholding States are the parties to the compact, where their Representatives in Congress have exhausted their power of remonstrance, it is the duty for the Slave States, to decide for themselves, whether the Slaveholding States are aggrieved to oppose the mode of redress. But as the Slave Holding States are the parties to the compact, the extent of the danger, and the best or last duty to communicate it to our constituents; therefore—

Resolved Further, That a Committee of one from each Slaveholding State be appointed to draw an address to the people of those States, setting forth the grounds of the evil which in our opinion threatens them, and advising them to adopt prompt and efficient measures for the protection of the property of their citizens, the maintenance of the guarantees of the Constitution, their rights under them, and the union of the States.

On motion of Mr. STEPHENS, of Georgia, the resolutions were referred to a select Committee of one from each Slaveholding State to report to an adjourned meeting of the Senators and Representatives of the Slaveholding States, to be held in this chamber at 7 o'clock, the 15th of January, 1849.

On motion of Mr. Morse of Louisiana, it was

Resolved, That the aforesaid meeting on the 15th of January be advertised in the *Union* and *Intelligencer*, in this city.

The President appointed the following gentlemen as the special committee; Messrs. Stephens, Calhoun, Cabell, King, of Ala. Foote, Downs, Rusk, Sebastian, Atchison, of Mo. Morrehead, Clayton, Chapman, Bayly, Gentry and Venable.

Adjourned to meet at 7 P. M. 15th January, 1849.

A. W. VENABLE, Secretary.

ANTE-ROOM OF THE SENATE CHAMBER, Dec. 20.

At the call of the chairman of the Special Committee appointed from each of the Slave States, gentlemen appointed at the general meeting held in the Senate Chamber on the 23d December, 1848, the Committee assembled in the ante-room of the Senate Chamber. All of the committee were present, viz: Mr. Cabell, who was sick, and Mr. Chapman, who was absent from the city. Mr. Stephens having expressed a desire that the committee should elect his own Chairman, he was, on motion, unanimously elected by the committee. On motion Mr. Venable was elected Secretary.

On motion of Mr. Calhoun, a Sub-Committee was appointed, to take into consideration the subject matter referred to the Special Committee; and the Chair appointed the said Committee, to wit: Messrs Calhoun, Clayton, King, Morehead, and Bayly. Who were to signify to the Chairman of the General Committee, when they were ready to report. The Committee adjourned to meet on the call of the Chairman.

ALEXANDER. H. STEPHENS, Chairman.
A. W. VENABLE, Secretary.

ANTE-ROOM OF THE SENATE CHAMBER, Jan. 10.

The Committee met. On the call of the Chairman, a quorum being present, Mr. CALHOUN, from the Sub Committee, reported an Address to the people of the Slaveholding States, which was considered and discussed in Committee, who rose without coming to any conclusion thereon, and adjourned to meet on Saturday the 13th, at 10 o'clock, A. M.

ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS, Ch'n.
A. W. VENABLE, Sec'y.

ANTE-ROOM OF THE SENATE CHAMBER, Jan. 13.

The Committee met according to adjournment.—Present, Mr. Stephens, Chairman; Messrs. Cabell, Calhoun, Dawson, Foote, Hammond, Atchison of Mo. Clayton, Chapman, Bayly, Venable, Rusk, Mr. King appeared by proxy, by Mr. DOWDS; and Mr. Sebastian by Mr. Foote.

Upon a statement of Mr. Downs and Mr. Foote that they were authorized, the Committee permitted them to vote for the aforesaid proxies.

The Address was further discussed and considered.

Whereupon Mr. CHAPMAN offered the following resolution;

Resolved, That in the opinion of this Committee, it is inexpedient at this time, for the Address to be published by the Representatives of the Slaveholding States, or that any action should be adopted apart from that of our proceedings in the respective Houses of Congress.

Which was decided in the negative.

The Yeas and Nays were demanded, and were as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. *Cabell, Clayton, Chapman, Gentry, Morehead, Rusk and Stephens*—7

NAYS—Messrs. Atchison, Calhoun, Dawson, Bayly, Foote, King of Ala. Sebastian and Venable—8. White in *Italics*.

On motion of Mr. BAYLY, it was

Resolved, That Mr. Calhoun report the address which has been submitted to this Committee, to the members of the Southern members of Congress to be held in the Senate Chamber, January 15, 1849.

Which was decided in the affirmative.

The Yeas and Nays being demanded, they were as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Atchison, Bayly, Calhoun, Dawson, Foote, King of Ala. Sebastian and Venable—8.

NAYS—Messrs. *Cabell, Clayton, Chapman, Chapman, Cabell, Clayton, Gentry, Morehead and Rusk*—7.

Resolved, that the journal of the Committee be reported by the Chairman to the members of Congress.

Adjourned. ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS, Ch'n.
A. W. VENABLE, Secretary.

SENATE CHAMBER, Jan. 15.

The Senators and Representatives from the Slaveholding States met in the Senate Chamber, according to adjournment. The President, Mr. METCALF, took the Chair, and called the meeting to order.

OF THE SENATE—Present: Messrs. Clayton, Sprunance, Pearce, R. Johnson, Mason, Bright, Westcott, Calhoun, H. V. Johnson, Berrien, Metcalf, Underwood, Turney, Dodge, Hamlin, Atchison, Jefferson Davis, King, Fitzpatrick, Atchison, Westcott, Yulee, Mallory, Downs.

OF THE HOUSE—Present: Messrs. Chapman, Crisfield, Lagon, McLane, Rogers, Schenck, Bayly, Bedinger, Babcock, W. G. Brown, Florenoy, Fulton, Goggin, Meade, McDowell, Pendleton, Preston, Stanton, Venable, Boyce, Chapman, Daniel, McKay, Venable I. Holmes, Rhett, Simpson, Wallace, Woodward, Boyd, Harrison, Jones, J. W. Jones, T. B. King, Lumpkin, Stephens, Toombs, W. H. Stephens, Wood, Cobb, Harris, Hilliard, G. S. Houston, Inge, A. G. Brown, Featherston, J. Thompson, Lea, Sims, Morse, Morehead, Peyton, Barrow, Cooke, Crozier, Gentry, Leake, M. H. Smith, Thomas, H. Thomas, Cabell, Kaufman, Pilsbury, Bowlin, R. W. Johnson.

Mr. HOUSTON of Texas offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That representatives from Slaveholding States decline to occupy seats on this floor, and that the galleries be opened to spectators.

The Yeas and Nays being demanded, it was decided in the negative—Yeas 36, Nays 82.

Those who voted in the affirmative are:

Messrs. Clayton, Sprunance, Pearce, R. Johnson, Metcalf, Underwood, Bell, Rusk, S. Houston, Rogan, Barringer, Chapman, H. Cobb, J. W. Jones, T. B. King, Lumpkin, Stephens, Toombs, Cooke, Gentry, Hilliard, Bowlin, Berrien, Cabell, Kaufman, Pilsbury, Florenoy, Goggin, McDowell, Pendleton and Preston.

Those who voted in the negative are:

Messrs. Pearce, Johnson of Md. Mason, Hunter, Butler, Calhoun, Berrien, Turney, H. Johnson, Dodge, Jefferson Davis, Foote, King, Fitzpatrick, Borland, Westcott, Yulee, Dawson, Mallory, Downs, McLane, Atchison, Bayly, Bedinger, Babcock, W. G. Brown, Fulton, Meade, R. A. Chapman, Daniel, McKay, Venable, J. Holmes, Rhett, Wallace, Woodward, Simpson, Harrison, Inge, A. G. Brown, W. Cobb, Harris, Inge, A. G. Brown, Featherston, J. Thompson, Thomas, Lea, Barrow, Peyton, Simms, Thomas, R. Johnson.

The report of the Senate were adopted by the meeting.

Mr. STEPHENS, (Chairman of the Select Committee of Fifteen,) made a report by submitting the journals of the Committee; and also the report of the Address to the journal and printed.

Mr. CALHOUN, from the Committee of Fifteen, reported the following address, which was read by the Secretary.

THE ADDRESS OF THE SOUTHERN DELEGATES IN CONGRESS TO THEIR CONSTITUENTS.

We, whose names are hereunto annexed, address you in discharge of a solemn duty, and to be a solemn duty, on the most important subject ever presented for your consideration. We allude to the conflict between the two sections of the Union, which is rending out of a difference of feeling and opinion in reference to the relation existing between the two race, the African and the Caucasian, which inhabit the Southern section, and the acts of aggression and encroachment to which it has led.

The conflict commenced not long after the acknowledgement of our independence, and has gradually increased until it has arrayed the great body of the North against the South in the most hostile array. In the progress of this conflict, aggression has followed aggression, and encroachment encroachment until they have reached a point, which if not checked for ever, must fatally and will not permit us to remain longer silent. The object of this address is to give you a clear, correct, but brief account of the whole series of aggression and encroachment of slaves and with a statement of the dangers to which they expose you. Our object in making it is not to cause excitement, but to put you in possession of all the facts and circumstances necessary to a full and just conception of a deep-seated disease, which threatens great danger to you and the whole body politic. We are not in the exaggeration, that in a popular Government like ours, a true conception of the actual character and state of a disease is indispensable to a correct cure.

We have made it a joint address, because we believe that the magnitude of the subject required it, it should assume the most impressive and solemn form.

Not to go farther back, the difference of opinion and feeling in reference to the relation between the two race, showed itself in the Convention that framed the Constitution, and constituted one of the great difficulties in forming it. After many efforts, it was overcome by a compromise, which provided, in the first place, that representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the States according to their respective numbers; and that, in ascertaining the number of each, five slaves shall be estimated as three. In the next, that slaves exist, shall not into States shall be prohibited from the importation of slaves before the year 1808; but a tax not exceeding ten dollars may be imposed on such importation, and finally, that no duties or direct tax shall be laid, but in proportion to federal numbers; and that no amendment of the Constitution, prior to 1808, should effect the provision, that relating to the importation of slaves.

So satisfactory were these provisions, that the second, relative to the delivering up of fugitive slaves, it was carried unanimously, and all the rest, except the third, relative to the importation of slaves, was carried by overwhelming majorities. They recognize 1808, with almost equal confidence, the right of the existence of Slavery, and make a specific provision for its protection where it was supposed to be the most exposed. They go farther and incorporate the slave as a material element. In determining the relative weight of the several States in the Government of the Union, and in the apportionment of taxes—should seem to have regarded the slave as a person. It was well understood at the time, that, without them the Constitution would not have been adopted. The Southern States, and, of course, that they could not, and, it is, therefore, as essential to the system that it never would have existed without them. The North never would have existed without them, and the Northern States, knowing all this, and regarding the Constitution, as they do, with their faith, in the most solemn manner, sacredly to observe them. Such, then, is, has been kept, and that pledge redeemed was shall next present itself.

With few exceptions of no great importance, the South had no cause to complain, prior to the year 1819—a period, it is to be feared, destined to mark a train of events, bringing with them many, and great, and fatal disasters, on the country and its institutions. With it commenced the agitating debate on the question of the admission of Missouri into the Union. We shall pass by for the present this question, of, others of the same kind directly growing out of it, and shall proceed to consider the effect of that spirit of discord which it roused up between the two sections. It first disclosed itself in the North, by hostility in that portion of the Constitution which provides for the delivering up of fugitive slaves. In its progress it led to the adoption of hostile acts, intended to prevent it or nullify it, and with so much success that it may be regarded now as practically expunged from the Constitution. How this has been effected, we shall now proceed to show.

After a careful examination, truth constrains us to say, that it has been by a clear and palpable evasion of the Constitution. It is impossible for any provision to be more free from ambiguity or doubt. It is in the following words:

"No person held to service, or labour, in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labour, but shall be delivered up, on claim of the party to whom such service or labour may be due."

All is clear. There is not an uncertain or equivocal word to be found in the whole provision. What shall not be done, and what, and to, is, and shall be done, and explicitly set forth. The former provides that fugitive slave shall not be discharged from his servitude by any law or regulation of the State wherein he is found; and the latter, that he shall be delivered up on claim of his owner.

We do not deem it necessary to undertake to refute the sophistry and subterfuges by which so plain a provision of the Constitution has been evaded, and its object defeated. It constitutes an essential part of the constitutional compact, and of course of the supreme law of the land. As such, it is binding on all the Federal and State Governments, the States and the individuals composing them. The sacred obligation of compact, and the solemn injunction of the supreme law, which bind equally all parties, Federal and State, are bound by oath to support, all unite to enforce its fulfilment, according to its plain meaning and intent. What has actually transpired, is, there, where was no diversity of opinion in the better days of the Republic, prior to 1819. Congress, the Federal Courts, and the State Courts, Judges and Magistrates, and People, all spontaneously placed the same interpretation on it. During that period not one instance occurred in the way of the owner of seeking to recover his fugitive slave; nor did any deny his right to have every proper facility to enable him to claim his own when delivered up. It was then nearly as easy to recover our property in Ohio as in State as one lound in a neighbouring Southern State. But a change has passed away, and the provision is defunct, except in name to the South.

When we take into consideration the importance and cleanness of this provision, the evasion by which it has been defeated, and the easy manner in which it has been kept, and that pledge redeemed we shall next present itself.

Again:

"The clause was therefore of the last importance to the union, and it was the hope of the Convention that it would be surrended by them without endangering the whole project. It was the last concession of the Slaveholding States to the constitution, by the unanimous consent of the Framers of it—a proof at once of its intrinsic and practical necessity."

Again:

"The clause manifestly contemplates the existence of a positive, unqualified right on the part of the owner of the slave, which it is the duty of the Union, in the way pointed out, to recognize, protect, and enforce."

The opinion of the other learned Judges was not less emphatic in the importance of this provision and the unquestionable right of the South under it. Judge Baldwin, in charging the jury said:

"If they, or any other citizens of the South, can be enforced—if one citizen have any rights of property which are recognized by the constitution of the United States, and the Union, they are those which have been set forth—if they have a right to carry their property, which he had a perfect right to possess, protect, and take away, as a citizen of the United States, entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens of any other States—Mr Johnson stands aside before you on ground which he cannot occupy without yielding. The safe ground on which the Government itself is based. If the Union cannot be justified, we have no longer law or Government."

Again, after referring more particularly to the provision for delivering up fugitive slaves, he said:

"Thus you see that the foundations of the Government are laid, and rest, on the right of property in slaves. The whole structure must fall by disturbing the corner stone."

These are grave, and solemn, and admonitory words, from a high source. They confirm all for which the South has ever contended, as to the clearness, importance and the imperative character of this provision, and the disastrous consequences which inevitably follow from its violation. But in spite of this solemn warning, the violation of it commenced, and which they were intended to rebuke, has been fully and perfectly consummated. The South, as lawful owners, had carried into the Union their slaves, now meet, instead of aid and cooperation, resistance in every form; resistance from hostile acts of legislation, in defeating the rights of the States by all sorts of devices, and by interposing every description of impediment—resistance from judges and magistrates—from the People, who, when they make a complaint, or attempt to recover a slave, in most of the Northern States, cannot now be made without the hazard of insult, heavy pecuniary loss, imprisonment, and even of life itself. A lately elected Governor of Maryland lost his life in making an attempt to enforce his claim to a fugitive slave under this provision.

But a provision of the Constitution may be violated indirectly as well as directly, by doing an act in its nature inconsistent with that which is enjoined to be done. Of this form of violation there is a striking instance connected with the provision under consideration. We alluded to secret organizations which are believed to exist in the Northern States, the object of these object is to entice, decoy, entrap, inveigle, and seduce slaves to escape from their owners, and to pass them secretly and safely through the North, for the purpose, into Canada, where they will be beyond the reach of the provision. That to entice a slave, by what is called the underground railroad, from his owner into a non-slaveholding State, with the intention to place him beyond the reach of the provision or prevent his recovery, is a violation of it, in spirit, as is completely repugnant to it as its open violation would be, is too clear to admit of doubt or to require illustration. And yet, as regards the South, it is not open to the true intent of the provision, it is believed that, with the above exception, not one of the States within whose limits they exist, has adopted any measure to suppress them, or to punish those by whose agency the object for which they were formed is carried into execution. On the contrary, they have looked on and winked at their indifference, if not with secret approbation, a great number of slaves enticed from their owners and placed beyond the possibility of recovery, to the great annoyance and heavy pecuniary loss of the bordering Southern States.

When we take into consideration the great importance of this provision, the absence of all uncertainty as to its true meaning and intent, the many guards by which it is surrounded to protect and enforce it, and the solemn manner in which it was inserted in the Constitution is defeated by these two-fold infractions, we doubt, taking all together, whether any thing has ever shaken the faith to be found on record. We know the language we have used is strong, but it is not less true than strong.

There remains to be noticed another class of aggressive acts of a kindred character, but which, instead of striking at an express and specific provision of the Constitution, aims directly at destroying the relation between the two races at the South, by the subversion of their tendency of one of the ends for which the Constitution was established.—We refer to the systematic agitation of the question by the Abolitionists; which, commencing about 1830, is still carried on with unabated zeal. Its avowed intention is to bring about a state of things that will force emancipation on the South. To unite the North in fixed hostility to Slavery in the South, and to excite discontent among the slaves with their condition, are among the means employed to effect it. With the avowed object of the Society, the agitators are resorted to in order to render the South, and the relation between the two races there, odious and hateful to the North.

For this purpose societies and newspapers are everywhere established, debating clubs opened, lecturers employed, pamphlets and other publications, pictures and petitions to Congress received, and directed to that single point, regardless of truth or decency, while the circulation of incendiary publications in the South, and the mail, by the Society of Abolition in Congress, and the employment of emissaries are relied on to excite discontent among the slaves. This agitation, and use of these means, have been continued, with more or less activity, for a series of years, not without doing much mischief, effecting little good. The result of it has been, both object and means to be aggressive and dangerous to the rights of the South, and subversive, as stated, of one of the ends for which the Constitution was established. Slavery is a domestic institution, belongs so the States, each for itself, in decide whether it shall be established or not. If it be established, whether it should be abolished or not. Such being the clear and unquestionable right of the States, it follows necessarily, that it would be a flagrant act of aggression on a State, destructive of its rights, and subversive of its independence, for the Federal Government, or any other, to attempt, of their people, to undertake to force on it the emancipation of its slaves.

But it is a sound maxim in politics, as well as law and morals, that what one may not do directly, indirectly which he cannot do directly, and it may be added with equal truth, to aid, to abet, or countenance another in doing it. And yet, the Abolitionists of the North, openly avowing the intention, and resorting to the most efficient means for the purpose, have been attempting to effect such a state of things to force the Southern states to emancipate their slaves, without any act on the part of the Northern States to arrest or suppress the power by which they propose to accomplish it. They have been permitted to use the mail, the Post Office, the means they please; if without aid or countenance, also without resistance of disapprobation. What is, there a deeper thought, or more difficult to the fact, that one of the means to effect their object, that of exciting discontent among our slaves, tends directly to subvert the relation which it defines to be one of the ends for which the Constitution was ordained and established—" to insure domestic tranquility "—and that in the only way in which domestic tranquility is likely to be put in jeopardy, by the South.

Certain it is, that an agitation so systematic—having such an object in view, and sought to be carried into execution by such means—would, between independent nations, constitute just cause of remonstrance by the party against which the aggression was directed, and, if not heeded, in appeal to arms for redress. Such being the case where an aggression of the kind takes place among independent nations, what, between the parties to the union, the United States, where the Union precludes an appeal to arms, while it affords a medium through which to seek redress and prevent aggression and effect? That it would be perverted to such a use, never entered into the imagination of the generation which formed and adopted the Constitution, it is fair to presume we suppose it would, it is certain that the South never would have adopted it.

We now return to the question of the admission of Missouri into the Union, and shall proceed to give a brief sketch of the occurrences connected with it, and the consequences to the South. Early in the year 1819 the then territory of Missouri applied to Congress, in the usual form, for leave to form a State constitution and government, preparatory to its admission into the Union. The prayer reported for the purpose, with the usual provisions to prohibit Slavery. This brought on the agitating debate which, with the subject, has caused so much done so much to alienate the South and North, and endanger our political institutions. Those who object to the admission of Missouri, contended that the high grounds of the right of self-government.—They claimed that a territor having reached the period when it is proper for it to form a constitution, and government for itself, becomes fully vested with all the rights of self-government; and that even the condition imposed on it by the Federal Constitution, inconsistent with the formation of its own form and government, but its admission into the Union. For that purpose it is sides as a condition, that the government shall be republican.

They claimed that Congress has no right to add to the condition, and that to assume it would be inconsistent with the assumption, that it is proper in its entire constitution and government; as no limitation could be imposed, as to the extent of the right, if it be admitted that it exists at all. Those who supported the prayer of the petition, on the other hand, claimed the right of Congress to impose, at discretion, what conditions it pleased. In this agitating debate, the two sections were arrayed against each other; the South in favour of the bill without amendment, and the North opposed to it without it. It was at last compromised by striking out the clause was well advanced; but it became apparent toward its close, that the people of Missouri were fixed and resolved in their purpose to form a constitution, and that they would certainly reject it, and adopt a constitution without it, should the bill pass with the condition.

Such being the case, it required no great effort of mind to perceive that Missouri, one in possession of a constitution and government, not simple on paper, but with legislators elected, and officers appointed, to carry them into effect, the grave questions would be presented, whether she was of right a State or Territory; and if the latter, whether Congress had the right, and if the right, the power, to impose her conditions, to disperse her legislature, and to remand her back to the territorial condition. These were great, and, under the circumstances, lawful questions—too fearful to be met by those who had raised the agitation. It was, in fact, a question was, how to escape the difficulty. Fortunately, a means was afforded. A compromise (as it was called) was proposed, and it was hailed by the North should cease to oppose the admission of Missouri on the grounds for which the South contended, and that the South should cease to oppose the right of the government of the North-western Territory, should be applied to all the territory acquired by the United States from France, north of the parallel of 36 degrees, leaving north of 36 degrees 30 minutes except the portion lying in the State of Missouri. The northern members enabled to carry the measure, voted for it with them, adopted it as their own. It was forced through Congress, by the almost united votes of the North, against a minority consisting almost entirely of members from the Southern States.

Such was the termination of this, the first conflict, under the Constitution, between the two sections, in reference to the relation between the two race. Many hailed it as a true peacemaker, and, in the progress of time, the absence of all uncertainty as to its true meaning and intent, the many guards by which it is surrounded to protect and enforce it, and the solemn manner in which it was inserted in the Constitution is defeated by these two-fold infractions, we doubt, taking all together, whether any thing has ever shaken the faith to be found on record. We know the language we have used is strong, but it is not less true than strong.

There remains to be noticed another class of aggressive acts of a kindred character, but which, instead of striking at an express and specific provision of the Constitution, aims directly at destroying the relation between the two races at the South, by the subversion of their tendency of one of the ends for which the Constitution was established.—We refer to the systematic agitation of the question by the Abolitionists; which, commencing about 1830, is still carried on with unabated zeal. Its avowed intention is to bring about a state of things that will force emancipation on the South. To unite the North in fixed hostility to Slavery in the South, and to excite discontent among the slaves with their condition, are among the means employed to effect it. With the avowed object of the Society, the agitators are resorted to in order to render the South, and the relation between the two races there, odious and hateful to the North.

For this purpose societies and newspapers are everywhere established, debating clubs opened, lecturers employed, pamphlets and other publications, pictures and petitions to Congress received, and directed to that single point, regardless of truth or decency, while the circulation of incendiary publications in the South, and the mail, by the Society of Abolition in Congress, and the employment of emissaries are relied on to excite discontent among the slaves. This agitation, and use of these means, have been continued, with more or less activity, for a series of years, not without doing much mischief, effecting little good. The result of it has been, both object and means to be aggressive and dangerous to the rights of the South, and subversive, as stated, of one of the ends for which the Constitution was established. Slavery is a domestic institution, belongs so the States, each for itself, to decide whether it shall be established or not. If it be established, whether it should be abolished or not. Such being the clear and unquestionable right of the States, it follows necessarily, that it would be a flagrant act of aggression on a State, destructive of its rights, and subversive of its independence, for the Federal Government, or any other, to attempt, of their people, to undertake to force on it the emancipation of its slaves.

But it is a sound maxim in politics, as well as law and morals, that what one may not do directly, indirectly which he cannot do directly, and it may be added with equal truth, to aid, to abet, or countenance another in doing it. And yet, the Abolitionists of the North, openly avowing the intention, and resorting to the most efficient means for the purpose, have been attempting to effect such a state of things to force the Southern states to emancipate their slaves, without any act on the part of the Northern States to arrest or suppress the power by which they propose to accomplish it. They have been permitted to use the mail, the Post Office, the means they please; if without aid or countenance, also without resistance of disapprobation. What is, there a deeper thought, or more difficult to the fact, that one of the means to effect their object, that of exciting discontent among our slaves, tends directly to subvert the relation which defines to be one of the ends for which the Constitution was ordained and established—" to insure domestic tranquility "—and that in the only way in which domestic tranquility is likely to be put in jeopardy, by the South.

Certain it is, that an agitation so systematic—having such an object in view, and sought to be carried into execution by such means—would, between independent nations, constitute just cause of remonstrance by the party against which the aggression was directed, and, if not heeded, in appeal to arms for redress. Such being the case where an aggression of the kind takes place among independent nations, what, between the parties to the union, the United States, where the Union precludes an appeal to arms, while it affords a medium through which to seek redress and prevent aggression and effect? That it would be perverted to such a use, never entered into the imagination of the generation which formed and adopted the Constitution, it is fair to presume we suppose it would, it is certain that the South never would have adopted it.

We now return to the question of the admission of Missouri into the Union, and shall proceed to give a brief sketch of the occurrences connected with it, and the consequences to the South. Early in the year 1819 the then territory of Missouri applied to Congress, in the usual form, for leave to form a State constitution and government, preparatory to its admission into the Union. The prayer reported for the purpose, with the usual provisions to prohibit Slavery. This brought on the agitating debate which, with the subject, has caused so much done so much to alienate the South and North, and endanger our political institutions. Those who object to the admission of Missouri, contended that the high grounds of the right of self-government.—They claimed that a territor having reached the period when it is proper for it to form a constitution, and government for itself, becomes fully vested with all the rights of self-government; and that even the condition imposed on it by the Federal Constitution, inconsistent with the formation of its own form and government, but its admission into the Union. For that purpose it sides as a condition, that the government shall be republican.

They claimed that Congress has no right to add to the condition, and that to assume it would be inconsistent with the assumption, that it is proper in its entire constitution and government; as no limitation could be imposed, as to the extent of the right, if it be admitted that it exists at all. Those who supported the prayer of the petition, on the other hand, claimed the right of Congress to impose, at discretion, what conditions it pleased. In this agitating debate, the two sections were arrayed against each other; the South in favour of the bill without amendment, and the North opposed to it without it. It was at last compromised by striking out the clause was well advanced; but it became apparent toward its close, that the people of Missouri were fixed and resolved in their purpose to form a constitution, and that they would certainly reject it, and adopt a constitution without it, should the bill pass with the condition.

Such being the case, it required no great effort of mind to perceive that Missouri, one in possession of a constitution and government, not simple on paper, but with legislators elected, and officers appointed, to carry them into effect, the grave questions would be presented, whether she was of right a State or Territory; and if the latter, whether Congress had the right, and if the right, the power, to impose her conditions, to disperse her legislature, and to remand her back to the territorial condition. These were great, and, under the circumstances, lawful questions—too fearful to be met by those who had raised the agitation. It was, in fact, a question was, how to escape the difficulty. Fortunately, a means was afforded. A compromise (as it was called) was proposed, and it was hailed by the North should cease to oppose the admission of Missouri on the grounds for which the South contended, and that the South should cease to oppose the right of the government of the North-western Territory, should be applied to all the territory acquired by the United States from France, north of the parallel of 36 degrees, leaving north of 36 degrees 30 minutes except the portion lying in the State of Missouri. The northern members enabled to carry the measure, voted for it with them, adopted it as their own. It was forced through Congress, by the almost united votes of the North, against a minority consisting almost entirely of members from the Southern States.

Such was the termination of this, the first conflict, under the Constitution, between the two sections, in reference to the relation between the two race. Many hailed it as a peacemaker, and, in the progress of time, the absence of all uncertainty as to its true meaning and intent, the many guards by which it is surrounded to protect and enforce it, and the solemn manner in which it was inserted in the Constitution is defeated by these two-fold infractions, we doubt, taking all together, whether any thing has ever shaken the faith to be found on record. We know the language we have used is strong, but it is not less true than strong.

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Such being the case, it required no great effort of mind to perceive that Missouri, one in possession of a constitution and government, not simple on paper, but with legislators elected, and officers appointed, to carry them into effect, the grave questions would be presented, whether she was of right a State or

trolled by the dominant power of the Northern States of the Confederacy, against the resistance and struggle of the Slaveholders.

It can then only be effected by the prostration of the white race; and that would necessarily engender the bitterest feelings of hostility between them and the North. But the reverse would be the case between the blacks of the South and the people of the North. Owing the emancipation to them they would regard them as friends, guardians and patrons, and center, accordingly, all their sympathy in them. The people of the North would not be still to reciprocate and to favour them, instead of the whites.—Under the influence of such feelings, and impelled by fanaticism and love of power, they would attempt a emancipation. Another step would be taken—to raise them to a political and social equality with their former owners. But this would be the right of voting and holding public offices under the Federal Government. We see the first step toward it in the bill already introduced, which gives the free blacks sed slaves with the right to vote on the question of emancipation in this District. But when once raised on an equality, they would become the free political associates of the North, acting and voting with them on all questions, and by this political union between them, holding the white race at the South in complete subjection.

The blacks, and the profligate whites that might unite with them, would become the principal recipients of Federal offices and patronage, and would, in consequence, be raised above the whites of the South in the political and social scale. We would, in a word, change conditions with them—the greater degradation than has ever yet fallen to the lot of a free and enlightened people, and one from which we could not escape, should such a change take place (which it certainly will if not prevented,) but by fleeing the homes of ourselves and ancestors, and by abandoning our country to our former slaves, to become the permanent abode of disorder, anarchy, poverty, misery and wretchedness.

With such a prospect before us, the gravest and most solemn question that ever claimed the attention of a people is presented for your consideration. It was to this that I alluded in the opening of my remarks belonging to you to decide. All we propose is to give you our opinion.

We, then, are of the opinion that the first and indispensable step, without which nothing can be done, and with which everything may be, is to be united among yourselves, on this great and momentous question. The want of Union and concert in reference to it has brought the South, the Union, and our system of Government to their present perilous condition. Instead of placing it above all others, it has been made subordinate, not only to mere questions of policy, but to the preservation of party ties and ensuring of party success, as high as we hold a due respect for these, we hold them subordinate to that and other questions involving our safety and happiness. Until they are so held by the South and the North will not believe that you are in earnest in opposition to their encroachments, and they will continue their aggressions, or at least, until the work of abolition is finished. To convince them that you are, you must prove by your acts that you hold all other questions subordinate to it. If you become united, and prove yourselves in earnest; the North will be brought to a pause, and to a calculation of consequences; and that may lead to a change of measures and the adoption of a course of policy that may quietly and peacably terminate this long conflict. But unless you evince this, it is certain that nothing would remain for you but to stand up immovably in defence of rights, involving your all—your property, property, equality, liberty, and safety.

As the assailed, you would stand justified by all laws, human and divine, in repelling a blow so dangerous, without looking to consequences, and to no sort to all means necessary for that purpose. Your assailants, and not you, would be responsible for consequences.

Determining these opinions, we earnestly entreat *you to be united*, and for that purpose adopt all necessary measures. Beyond this, we think it would not be proper to go at present.

We hope, if you should unite with anything like unanimity, it may of itself apply a remedy to this deen-seated and dangerous disease. But, if such be to be case, the time will then have come for you to decide what course to adopt.

Mr. CLAYTOR moved to lay the whole subject on the table. The yeas and nays being demanded, the motion was rejected—Yeas 28, Nays 50.

Those who voted in the affirmative are:

Messrs. Chapman, Sprunce, Pearce, H. Johnson, Metcalfe, Underwood, Bell, Chapman, Crisfield, Roman, Goggin, Chapman, T. R. King, Barringer, Stephens, Thomas, Morehead, Barrow, Cocke, Crozier, Gentry, Haskell, Cabell, *Flournoy*, and Preston—28—all Whigs.

Those who voted in the negative are:

Messrs. Mason, Hunter, Butler, Calhoun, Dowse, Turney, Atchison, Davis, Foote, King, Fitzpatrick, Borland, Westcott, Sebastian, S. Houston, Ligon, McLane, Atkinson, Bayly, Bedinger, Bocock, W. G. Brown, Meade, McDowell, *Fulton*, R. A. Thompson, McKay, Daniel, *Pendleton*, Harris, Hilliard, Rimson, Wallace, Woodward, H. Cobb, Harrison, Iverson, *J. W. Jones*, *Gayle*, *Hilliard*, A. G. Brown, Jacob Thompson, *Tompkins*, Harmanson, Morse, La Sere, Boyd, Payton, Hill, Stanton, Venable, Kaufman, Pillsbury, Bowlin and *R. Johnson*—59. Whigs in *Italics*.

Mr. STEPHENS, Mr. CHAPMAN, Mr. RUSK and Mr. MONEHEAD requested to be excused from serving on the Committee, which was granted.

The Chair appointed in the place of Mr. Stephens Mr. Berrien, in the place of Mr. Morehead Mr. Peyton, in the place of Mr. Rusk Mr. Kaufman, and in the place of Mr. Chapman Mr. Pearce.

The meeting then adjourned, to meet in the Senate Chamber on Monday evening, the 22d, at 7 o'clock.

A. W. VENABLE, Secretary.

ANTE-ROOM OF THE SENATE CHAMBER, Jan. 18.

The Select Committee of fifteen from the slave-holding States met at 10 o'clock, and was organized by calling Mr. King, of Alabama, to the Chair.

Present: Mr Kaufman in place of Mr. Rusk, excused, Mr. Berrien in place of Mr. Stephens, excused, Mr. King, Mr. Gentry, Mr. Bayly Mr. Venable, Mr. Atchison, Mr. Sebastian, Mr. Dowse, Mr. Calhoun Mr. Cabell, Absent: Mr. Pearce, Mr. Clayton, Mr. Pettit and Mr. Peyton.

Mr. BERRIEN submitted a resolution to change the title of the address reported to the general meeting, to an address to the individual composing the meeting to the People of the United States.

The Yeas and Nays being demanded, it was carried—Yeas 7, Nays 4, as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. *Cabell*, Kaufman, King, *Berrien*, *Gentry*, Sebastian and Downs—7.

NAYS—Messrs. Bayly, Atchison, Venable and Calhoun—4.

The Chair appointed the Committee as follows:

Messrs Berrien, Bayly Cabell, Atchison and Calhoun.

A. W. VENABLE, Secretary.

ANTE-ROOM OF THE SENATE CHAMBER, Jan. 20.

The Committee met at the call of the Chairman. A quorum being present,

Mr. BERRIEN, Subcommittee, read an Address, which was ordered to be reported to the General Meeting as a substitute for the address recommitted to this Committee. Adjourned.

A. W. VENABLE, Secretary.

SENATE CHAMBER, January 22.

The Southern Senators and Members of the House of Representatives met in the Senate Chamber according to appointment. The President called the meeting to order at 7 o'clock, P. M.

Mr. King, Chairman of the Committee of fifteen, reported an address to the people of the United States, which the Committee recommended as substitute for the Address which was read at the last meeting. The Address was read by Mr. Berrien, Chairman of the Subcommittee.

We should be glad to publish the Address of Mr. Berrien, but the crowded state of our columns absolutely forbids. Mr. B's address is not quite so long as the one which was read at the last meeting of the "People of the United States," Instead of the people of the South, it is in many respects similar to that address, but it differs in many particulars. The rejected Address concludes as follows:

We have first, then, to inform you that we have before the American people the facts necessary to enable *them* to stay this controversy—to exercise the restraining influence which their power, if exerted, will have upon our counsels, and prosperity to our country. We, too, constitute a portion of that People; and speedily reunited to our power among them, we will use our share for the accomplishment of this beneficent result.]

Mr. STEPHENS submitted the following resolution:

Resolved, That it is expedient at this time for our Address to be published by the Representatives of the slave-holding states, as the Address of the South to the country, upon proceedings in the respective Houses of Congress.

Mr. BAYLY moved to lay this resolution on the table, and the Yeas and Nays being demanded, it was decided in the affirmative—Yeas 59, Nays 18.

Those who voted in the affirmative are:

Messrs. Mason, Hunter, Butler, Calhoun, Berrien, Turney, Johnson of La. Downs, Davis, Foote, King, Fitzpatrick, Borland, Westcott, Sebastian, S. Houston, Atkinson, Bayly, Bedinger, Meade, *Pendleton*, R. A. Thomson, Daniel, McKay, Venable, Bart, Rhett, Simpson, Wallace, Woodward Holmes, H. Cobb, Harrison, Iverson, *J. W. Jones*, *Gayle*, *Cobb*, *Cocke*, *Gogin*, Harrison, Inge, Featherston, Jacob Thompson, *Tompkins*, *Hilliard*, *Morehead*, *Cocke*, *Crozier*, *McLane*, *Rowan*, Clarke, Pillsbury, Phelps, Peyton, McDowell and Ligon—59.

Those who voted in the negative are:

Messrs. Metcalf, *Underwood*, Rusk, *Flournoy*, *Gogin*, *Preston*, *Clingman*, *Thomas*, *Sabastian*, *Hilliard*, *Fitzpatrick*, *Hilliard*, *Morehead*, *Cocke*, *Crozier*, McLane, *Rowan* and *Chapman*—18.

Mr. HILLIARD submitted the following resolution:

Resolved, That when this Address is reported, it shall be made to the 23d of February next.

The Yeas and Nays were demanded, and it was decided in the negative—Yeas 18, Nays 59.

Those who voted in the affirmative are:

Messrs. Metcalfe, Underwood, S. Houston, Flournoy, Gogin, Clingman, Thomas, Sebastian, J. Jones, T. B. King, Stephens, Toombs, Hilliard, Morehead, Cocke, Crozier, McLane, Chapman, Hilliard, Fitzpatrick, Lumpkin and McDowell—23.

Those who voted in the negative are:

Messrs. Mason, Hunter, Butler, Berrien, Turney, Johnson of La. Downs, Davis, Foote, King, Fitzpatrick, Westcott, Sebastian, Atchison, Bayly, Bedinger, Bocock, W. G. Brown, Bayly, Beale, Bedinger, Bocock, W. G. Brown, Fulton, R. A. Thomson, Daniel, McKay, Venable, Bart, Rhett, Bell, Woodward, Wallace, Simpson, Iverson, Lumpkin, Bowdon, W. H. Cobb, Gayle, Harris, Inge, Featherston, Jacob Thomson, La Sere, Morse, Hill, R. W. Johnson, Cabell, Clark, Kaufman, Peyton, Pillsbury—31.

Resolved, that the address be reported as a substitute that read by Mr. BERRIEN to this meeting.

The Yeas and Nays being demanded, it was decided in the negative—Yeas 18, Nays 59, as follows:

Those who voted in the negative are:

Messrs. Mason, Hunter, Butler, Calhoun, Davis, Fitzpatrick, Westcott, Tuber, Atkinson, Bayly, Bocock, Bedinger, Beale, H. G. Brown, Bayly, Daniel, McKay, Venable, Bart, Holmes, Simpson, Wallace, Rhett, Woodward, Bowdon, Harris, Inge, Featherston, Jacob Thompson, La Sere, Morse, R. W. Johnson, Pillsbury, and Stanton—31.

Mr. BAYLY then moved that the Address reported to a former meeting, on the 15th of January, be adopted; which motion was seconded, and the Yeas and Nays being demanded, were as follows:

Those who voted in the affirmative are:

Messrs. Mason, Hunter, Butler, Calhoun, Turney, Dowse, Davis, Foote, Fitzpatrick, Borland, Sebastian, Westcott, Yulee, Atkinson, Bayly, Bedinger, Bocock, W. G. Brown, Meade, R. A. Thompson, Daniel, Venable, Bart, Holmes, Simpson, Wallace, Rhett, Woodward, Bowdon, Gayle, Harris, Inge, Featherston, Jacob Thompson, La Sere, Morse, R. W. Johnson, Pillsbury, and Stanton—34.

Those who voted in the negative are:

Messrs. Metcalfe, Underwood, Rusk, *Johnson of Ga.*, Rusk, S. Houston, *Pendleton*, *Preston*, *Clingman*, *Thomas*, *Sebastian*, *Hilliard*, *Fitzpatrick*, *Cocke*, *Cobb*, *Rowan*, and *Chapman*—17—Whigs in *Italics*.

On motion, it was

Resolved, That the journals of this meeting and the Committee be signed by the Secretary, and published in the papers of the South.

On motion of Mr. IVERSON, it was

Resolved further, That the Address adopted by this meeting be left with the Secretary for such members as approve of the same to sign it; and that the publication thereof, be postponed for a reasonable time, to enable the same to be ordered by a subsequent meeting of those who may sign it.

☞ The meeting then adjourned sine die.

SPEECH OF JOHN A. DIX

IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE,

On privileging the Resolutions of the Legislature of the State of New York.

Mr. President:—When I presented these resolutions, I gave notice that I should at a subsequ ent day, be called on to say anything in their defence. I have been four years a member of this body, and never since I have had a seat in it, have I known an objection raised, on a motion to print resolutions passed by one of the sovereign States of this Union.

I do not know that I should have noticed this opposition, extraordinary as it appears, but for the remarks with which it has been accompanied, and especially those made by the Senator from Ohio (Mr. Chase) in relation to the character of the resolutions. He pronounces them insulting to the other States. Sir, there is nothing insulting to the other States in them. I have attempted to make it appear so; and for this purpose I shall take them up, section, for the purpose of showing what they are; and I begin with the preamble.

"STATE OF NEW YORK—*Concurrent Resolutions.*—Whereas the people of the State of New Mexico have petitioned Congress for the establishment of a territorial government, which shall protect them against the institution of domestic Slavery which they remain a territory of the United States, and have also petitioned Congress for protection against the unfounded claims of the State of Texas to a part of their soil, and to the entire valley of the Rio Grande; and whereas it would be unjust to the people of New Mexico and California, and *resulting to the spirit of the age, to permit domestic Slavery to institution from which they are now free*—to be introduced among them; and whereas the inquisition of New Mexico by the Texan Cavalry, has shown that Texas has a right to expectfhe protection of the general Government, and should be secured in the full possession and enjoyment of her territory; therefore:

There is no original matter in this preamble, except the sentiment that "it would be unjust to the spirit of the age" to permit domestic Slavery to be introduced among those who are now free from it. All the rest is taken from the petition of the New Mexicans, and is expressed in their petition, which was presented to the Senate by the honorable Senator from Missouri, on my left, (Colonel Benton) and I have heard no objection to her that petition may be said to express the sentiment of the people of that territory. When that question fairly comes before us, I shall be ready to show that the spirit of petition in charge will be able to show that it is a true index to the prevailing opinions and feelings of the New Mexicans. But this is matter with which the legislature of New York, and nothing to do. They took the petition as they found it, and they have rested it as one of the moving causes of the declarations of opinion they have made.

I have said that there is no original matter in this preamble excepting the sentiment that it would be "unjust to the spirit of the age" to permit domestic Slavery where it does not exist. I might be justified in asserting that this expression is but a repetition of what has been said, again and again, in the resolutions, speeches and speeches here and elsewhere, since that question of carrying Slavery into the territories was prohibited by the fundamental law has been agitated. It is a sentiment to which nearly the whole people of the non-slaveholding States have responded, and to responsibility for it on the east upon New York, which does not belong equally to them.

But, sir, let us leave the preamble and proceed to the resolutions. The first is in these words:

"Resolved, (if the Assembly concur.) That our Senators in Congress be instructed, and our Representatives in Congress be requested, to use their best efforts to procure the passage of laws for the establishment of governments for the territory acquired by the late treaty of peace with Mexico; and that by such laws involuntary servitude, except for crime, be excluded from such territories."

This resolution is in sentiments, if not in words, identical with those which have been passed by Legislatures of the thirty States of the Union. With a single exception all the non-slaveholding, and one of the slave-holding States have declared themselves opposed to the extension of Slavery to territory now free. Sir, I fully concur in the propriety of this declaration. I believe that Congress possesses the power to prohibit Slavery in California and New Mexico, that it is our duty to exercise the power, and that it should be exercised now. I am always for acting when the proper time for action has come. I am in favor of doing what is my share which shall be upon others the responsibility which belongs to ourselves. The resolution looks to the exclusion of Slavery from New Mexico and California during their territorial condition only. It does not look beyond that condition with a view to control the people when they shall come to form State Governments, and to assume the rights of sovereignty. In this view of the subject, one of the New York presses, which has resisted all interference with the question of Slavery in the territories, pronounces resolutions consistency in their character. I do not know that I should call this a consistent opinion, but I do not think it is fairly the ground New York has always taken, that Slavery shall by no act of hers be further extended. She believes it is a great evil, and that it is her duty to end or right, and I do not hesitate to say she will never abandon it—never, never.

I will now read the second resolution.

"Resolved, (if the Assembly concur.) That the territory lying between the Nueces and Rio Grande, and that situated between the Rio Grande and the Rio Gorado, are the common property of the United States; and that our Senators in Congress be instructed, and our Representatives in Congress requested, to use their best efforts to preserve the same as such common property, and protect it from the unfounded claims of the State of Texas, and from the encroachments of the people of the State of Texas or the institution of domestic Slavery."

In respect to this resolution I have nothing to say, excepting that it expresses the opinions of a large majority of the members of both branches of the legislature, and as such, I presume, it will be considered by the Senate. I understand that the democratic members for the most part voted against it. When this question comes before us, I shall be prepared to show that the attempt of all the Senator from Texas (Mr. Rusk) has to say in defence of the Texas boundary claims.

The last resolution, which relates to the resolution of instruction, intended to carry it out, is in these words:

"Resolved, (if the Assembly concur.) That we will never consent to the establishment of the Territorial Government, or the sale of slaves, at the seat of the National Government, in violation of the sentiment of the people of this State, and of the Nation; and that such prisons and marts ought forth with to be abolished."

This resolution embodies the opinions of the members of the Legislature in relation to the traffic in slaves in this district—a subject which has extensively engaged the attention of the people of the United States, and especially of the inhabitants of the district also. There is nothing in the resolution which contemplates any interference with the rights of property in the slaves held in this district. But it condemns a traffic, which is entirely independent of the tenure of slaves by the inhabitants, and which is regarded by a thousand as a disgraceful enterprise, and which, some years ago, if this district had remained a part of the State of Maryland, by which it was ceded to the United States, would be a matter which concerns the people of the whole Union. As the seat of the Federal Government we all have an interest in it, and it is a matter which affects its honour or its prosperity is alive to ours. The people of Maine have the same interest here as the people of Louisiana, and they have a constitutional right to express their opinions on any matter of local concern which belongs to the district. It is under this view of the subject that I have presented the resolutions of the Legislature of which I have just read. They believe the traffic in slaves here, under the shadow of this capitol, to be wrong; they believe that it should be discontinued, and they have said so.

In expressing this opinion, they have spoken in language to which no exception can fairly be taken. They have not used terms half so significant as those which have been used by the inhabitants of the district themselves. In 1828, (46 years ago,) as I understand, the traffic in slaves was carried on to such an extent, that Alexandria as a public nuisance. In 1816, John Randolph, of Roanoke, introduced a resolution in the House of Representatives of Congress, to inquire into the extent of the traffic in slaves in this district, and if so, what measures were necessary to put a stop to it. I have before me the report of the proceedings of the Grand Jury of this city, and that the court decided that there was no authority to suppress it without an act of Congress. But in 1828 there was a petition presented to Congress in 1828 by the inhabitants of this district; and I will read it for the purpose of showing that the New York resolutions fall far short of what they have said and done.

To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled:

"We, the undersigned, citizens of the District of Washington and Alexandria, in the District of Columbia, beg leave to call the attention of your honourable body to an evil of a most alarming character, which threatens the prosperity and happiness of this District, and casts the reproach of inexistency upon the free institutions established among us.

While the laws of the United States denounce the foreign Slave Trade as piracy, and punish with death those who are therein engaged in it, the inhabitants of this District, the seat of the National Government, a nominate Slave Trade, scarcely less disgraceful in its enormities, and in its consequences, is carried on among us. For this is not, like the former, carried on against a barbarous nation; its victims are reared up among the people of the country, and are torn from their homes, their religion, and imbued with similar domestic attachments.

These people are, without their consent, torn from their homes, and their friends, and their country, and sold into distant parts; children are taken from their parents without regard to the ties of nature, and the most endearing bonds are broken forever.

Nor is this traffic confined to those who are legally slaves for life. Some who are entitled to Freedom, and who have long enjoyed it, are seized, and sold under unconditional Slavery, and, owing to the defectiveness of our laws, they are generally carried out of the District before the necessary steps can be taken for their release.

We behold these scenes—literally taking place among us, and we feel ourselves in a Christian Land. The people of this District have, within themselves, no means of legislative redress; and we, therefore, appeal to your honourable body, as our representatives and by the American Constitution with the power to redress us.

Nor is it only from the rapacity of slave traders that the outcry against this traffic is made, and we to suffer.—Even the laws which govern us sanction and direct, in certain cases, a procedure that we believe is unparalleled in the civilized world, and which is a disgrace among the Governments of Christendom. An instance of the operation of these laws, which occurred during the last session of Congress, will illustrate.

A coloured man, who stated that he was entitled to Freedom, was taken up as a runaway slave, and lodged in the jail of Washington city. It was advertised, but no one appearing to claim him, he was according to law, put up at public sale, for the payment of his jail fees, and sold as a slave for life! He was purchased by a slave-trader, who was not required to give security for his transportation out of the District, and he was immediately shipped at Alexandria for one of the Southern States. An attempt was made by some benevolent individuals to have the matter investigated, but no clue to Freedom could be investigated, but their efforts were unavailing; and thus was a human being sold into perpetual bondage, at the instance of a law, unauthorized by any crime, without even a pretence of trial, or an allegation of crime.

We blush for our country while we relate the disgraceful transaction; we feel that it would be the scoff of the world, did not its very enormity inspire us with the hope that it will rouse the philanthropists and the patriots of the country, to a vigorous exertion in believing your honourable body never intended that this odious law should be enacted, and we therefore, as citizens of Maryland, from which we believe it has been expunged, since this district was ceded to the General Government.

The fact of its having been so recently executed, shows the necessity of this subject being brought before the proper which we confidently hope will be ready to correct it.

We are aware of the difficulties that would attend any attempt to relieve us from these grievances by a sudden emancipation of the slaves in this District, and we would, therefore, be far from recommending a so hasty measure. But the course pursued by many of the States of this confederacy, that have happily succeeded in relieving themselves from a similar burthen, together with the bright example which has been set us by the South American Republics, proves, most conclusively, that a course of gradual emancipation may be consummated in a fixed period, and to take effect only upon those who may thereafter be born or removed into the District, might be adopted without injuring the present proprietors, and would greatly reduced to the prosperity and honour of our country.

The experience among us of a distinct class of people, who, by their condition as slaves, are deprived of almost every incentive to virtue and industry, and shut out from many of the sources of light and knowledge, has an evident tendency to corrupt the morals of the people, and to damp the spirit of enterprise, by accustoming the rising generation to look with contempt upon honest labour, and to depend for support too much upon the labour of others. Our free population, from necessity, is made up of people from settling among us, by rendering the means of subsistence more precarious to the labouring class of whites.

It diminishes the resources of the community, by throwing the earnings of the poor into the coffers of the rich; thus rendering the former dependent, servile, and impoverished, while the latter are tempted to become, in the same proportion, luxurious and prodigal.

That these disastrous results flow from the existence of Slavery among us is sufficiently conspicuous, when we contrast the languishing condition of this District and the surrounding country with the prosperity of those parts of the Union which are less favoured in point of climate and location, but blessed with a free and industrious population.

We would, therefore, respectfully pray that these grievances may claim the attention of your honourable body, and that a law of Congress may be enacted, declaring that all children of slaves born in the District of Columbia after the 4th day of July, 1828, shall be free; and that all laws now in force in this District, and laws which authorize the selling of supposed runaways for their prison fees or maintenance may be repealed.

And, also, that laws may be enacted to prevent slaves from being removed into this District, or brought in for sale, hire, or transportation; without, however, prevent a slaveholder of Congress, residing in strangers, or travellers, from bringing and taking away with them their domestic servants.

The petition is signed by one thousand and sixty names. I have counted them, and I believe correctly. Among them are those of many of the most respectable citizens of the District. I see the name of the last of Judge Cranch, then and now at the head of the judiciary of the district; General John P. Vanness, the largest property holder; and others equally respectable and well known. This petition goes much further than the New York resolutions. It prays for the abolition of Slavery, not only in the District in slaves. It uses much stronger language. It pronounces the Slave Trade in this district "disgrace." In the preamble, it uses language even stronger. It pronounces the Slave Trade in this district "odious." The people of this district have done all in their power to rid themselves of what they consider an evil, affecting their prosperity and their good name. They have expressed their resolves from responsibility on account of this traffic. The responsibility is thrown upon Congress and upon the people of the other United States of this Union, has attempted, in respectful language, and in terms far less significant than those employed by the inhabitants of the district, to exonerate herself from it.—She is, in fact, active in accordance with their prayer to Congress; and if in the judgment of any Senator she merits reproach for her interposition, he cannot fail to see that the inhabitants of the district have incurred a much larger share of the responsibility of Slavery, and by denouncing the traffic in slaves in far less measured terms than herself.

I regret, Mr. President, that I should have been called on to enter into this discussion; but, as all know, it was unsought by me. I came here from a little room, almost from a sick bed, never in my life feeling less able or disposed to engage in a contention of any sort. But I will not sit here in silence, if I have strength to stand up, and listen to attacks upon the legislature of the State I have in part the honour to represent here—attacks which I believe are not merited, and which are unwarranted by the resolutions on which they are founded.

The Anti-Slavery Standard.

Without Concealment—Without Compromise.

NEW-YORK, THURSDAY FEBRUARY, 8, 1849.

The Parting of the Ways

Who hath not been a poet? who hath not,
With Life's new power full of winged years,
Shot at a venture, and then following on,
Stood doubtful at the Parting of the Ways?

There once I stood in dream, and, as I paused,
Looking this way and that, came forth to me
The figure of a Woman veiled, that said
"Me seest thou? Hast thou a choice? Hast thou
Something there was that chilled me in her voice;
I felt Youth's hand grow slack and cold in mine,
As if to be withdrawn, and I replied:
"O, Love, be hid, with thy veil, my eyes, my breast!
Duty comes soon enough, too soon comes Death;
This slippery globe of life shirks of itself,
Hasting our youth away into the dark;
These senses, quivering with electric heats,
Too soon will show him nests on wintry boughs,
Obtrusive emptiness in summer fruit,
Which whistling northwinds line with downy snow;
Sometimes, or fringe with foliaged rime, in vain,
Thither the singing birds no more return."

Then glowed to me a Maiden from the left,
With bosom half disclosed, and naked arms
Warm as the whispering South that comes from Spring
And wooing Flowers, and thus spake she:
"I am called, Pleasure, come with me!" she said;
Then laughed and shook out sunshine from her hair,
Nor only that, but, so it seemed, shook out
All memory, too, and all the moonlit past,
Old loves, old aspirations, and old dreams,
More beautiful for being old and gone.

So we went together, downward sloped
The path through groves of Myrtle and of Rose,
Yellow with sunshine and young grass, but I
Saw naught nor heard, shut up in one close joy;
I only felt the hand within my own,
Transmuting all my blood to golden fire,
Dissolving all my brain in throbbing mist.

Suddenly shrank the hand; suddenly burst
A cry that split the torpor of my brain,
And, as the first sharp thrust of lightning loosens
From the heaped cloud its rain, so my eyes opened
"Save me!" it thrilled, "O, bide me, there is Death!
Death the divider, the unmerciful,
That Digs his pitfalls under love and youth,
And covers beauty up in the cold ground,
Horrible Death, bringer of endless dark!
Let him not come, hide me in thy breast!"
Thereat I strove to clasp her, but my arms
Met only what slipped crumbling down and fell
A handful of gray ashes at my feet.

I would have fled, I would have followed back
That pleasant path we came, but all was changed;
Rocky the way, abrupt, and hard to find.
Yet I toiled on, and, toiling on, I thought,
That way lies Youth and Wisdom and all Good;
For only by unbearing Wisdom comes
And climbing backward to diviner Youth.

What the world teaches, profits to the world;
What the soul teaches, profits to the soul,
Which then first stands erect with Godward face,
When she lets fall her pack of withered facts,
The glaring illusions of Time, the Flesh, the Earth,
And looks and listens with her finer sense;
Nor Truth, nor Knowledge cometh from without."

After long weary days, I stood again
And waited at the Parting of the Ways;
Again the figure of a Woman veiled
Stood forth and beckoned it, and I followed now:
Down to no bower of roses led the path,
But through the streets of towns where chattering Cold
Hewed wood for fires whose glow was owned and fenced,
Where Nakedness wove garments of warm wool
Not for itself;—or through the fields it led,
Where Hunger reaped the unattainable grain,
Where Idleness enforced saw idle lands,
Leagues of unpeopled space, and Poverty, Earth,
Walled round with paper against God and Man.

"I cannot look," I groaned, "at only these;
The heart grows hardened with perpetual wont,
And pattern with a feigned necessity,
Bargaining with itself to be content;
Let me behold thy face."

The Form replied
"Men follow Duty, never overtake;
Duty nor life her'self, nor looks behind."
But, as she spoke, a loosened lock of hair
Slipped from her mask, and I saw, and I, who looked
To see it gray and thin, saw amplest gold,
Not that dull metal dug from manlid earth,
But such as the retiring sunset-flood
Leaves heap'ed on bays and capes of inland cloud.
O, Duty, divine," I prayed, "although not yet
I may rear the statue, where I feel
Gone out at touch of untamed things and foul,
With draughts of Beauty, yet declare how soon I
"Feil! lass and faint of heart," the Voice returned,
"Thou seest no beauty save thou make it first;
Man, Woman, Nature, each is but a glass
Where the soul sees the image of herself,
Visible echoes, offspring of herself,
But, since thou need'st assurance of how soon,
Wait till that Angel comes who opens all,
The reconciler, he who lifts the veil,
The reunifier, the restringer, Death."

I waited, and methought he came, but how
Or in what shape, I doubted, for no sign
By touch or mark, he gave me as he passed;
Only I knew a lily that I held
Snapt short below the head and shrivelled up;
Then turned my Guide and looked at me unveiled,
And I beheld no face of angelic mien
But the Enchantress I had followed erst,
Only more fair, more clear in eye and brain,
Heightened and chastened by a household charm;
She smiled and, "which is fairest," said her eyes,
"The witch's money Florimel or mine?"

J. S. L.

William and Ellen Craft.

The singular and romantic story of the escape of these two persons from Slavery was told at the Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society at Boston, week before last, by Wm. W. Brown, and the Crafts themselves appeared before the audience, exciting much interest by their appearance.—Of course, a most lively interest in the fortunes of the feats of their escape were stated by Mr. Brown in a letter to the *Liberator* a few weeks since, and are briefly as follows:

William and Ellen Craft, man and wife, lived with different masters in Georgia. Ellen is so fair-complexed, that she can pass without suspicion for a white woman. Her husband is much darker. He is a mechanic, and when not employed on Sundays, he laid up money enough to bring himself and his wife out of Slavery. Their plan was without precedent; and though very ingenious, it was the means of setting them free. Ellen dressed in man's clothing, and passed as the master, while her husband passed as the servant. In this way they reached the Free States. They arrived in Philadelphia, in four days from the time they left their Slave history, remarkable for their escape, is replete with interest. They will be at the meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, in Boston, on the 22d inst. We shall then, if we can, give a full account of their escape. It will be listened to with great interest. They are very intelligent. They are about 22, and Wm. 24 years of age. Ellen is truly a heroine.

At the meeting in Boston Mr. Brown read an article from a Newark paper, (*the Daily Mercury*) which we copy as a most interesting part of the story. It is as follows:

AN INCIDENT AT THE SOUTH.

One bright starlight night, in the month of December last, I found myself in the cabin of the steamer *General Clinch*, bound to the port of Savannah, and thence for Charleston. I had gone early on board, in order to select a good berth, and was amused by a novel reading of papers, among me myself with watching the appearance of the passengers as they dropped in one after another, and I being a student in physiognomy, forming my own opinions of their characters.

The second bell rang, and as I yawningly returned my watch to my pocket, I was somewhat attracted by the appearance of a young man who entered the cabin, supported by his servant, a strapping negro.

The man seemed to be a Southern gentleman; his face was bandaged with a white handkerchief, and its expression entirely hid by a pair of enormous green spectacles.

There was something so mysterious and unusual, about the young man, as he sat restlessly in the corner, that curiosity led me to watch him more closely.

He appeared anxious to avoid notice, and before the steamer had fairly left the wharf, requested in a low wearily voice to be shown to his berth. The latter port was valid and must retire early—his name he gave as Mr. Johnson. His servant was called and he was put quietly to bed. It seemed very strange that he should leave in the distance and then went to my berth.

I awoke in the morning with the sun shining in my face—we were passing Cape Hatteras. It was about 8 after were out at sea. It was a mild, beautiful morning and most of the passengers were on deck enjoying the freshness of the air and stimulating their appetites for breakfast. Mr. Johnson soon made his appearance, arrayed the same as I had seen him the night before, and took his seat quietly on the guard of the boat.

From the better opportunity afforded by day light, I found that Mr. Johnson was a young man of a handsome young man, with black hair and eyes, and of a darkness of complexion that betokened Spanish extraction. Any notice from strangers appeared to annoy him, and my curiosity I questioned his servant who was standing near, and gained the following information.

His master was a native of Cuba, and had been recently in a complication of diseases that had baffled the skill of the best physicians in Georgia—he was now suffering principally from the consumption, and was unable to walk or help himself in any way. He came from Atlanta, Georgia, and was now on his way to Philadelphia, at which place resided a celebrated oculist, who stolen, through whose means he hoped to be restored to perfect health.

This information, communicated in a loll off hand manner, enlisted my sympathies for the sufferer, although it occurred to me that he walked rather too gingerly for a person blind from a cataract on the eyes.

We arrived at Charleston, and, I there lost sight of Mr. Johnson, in a conversation at my office remarking that the young man was a cataract.

This morning I cut from the New York *Herald* the accompanying paragraph, and there is no doubt in my mind but that William and Ellen Craft were the parties and travelling companions, Mr. Johnson and servant. A

Here follows Brown's letter just published in the *Liberator*. The Crafts are still in Massachusetts and have accompanied Mr. Brown at public meetings. Their notoriety perhaps will be their best safeguard, as it would be difficult to carry off persons so well known by stealth, and quite impossible to get them out of Eastern Massachusetts openly; nevertheless a careful watch must serve trouble.

CASE OF THE ALLEGED SLAVER.—The *Tribune* gives the following report of the final examination of Capt. Storer, of the bark Ann R. Richardson, the first part of which was published in the last *Standard*:

SUNDAY EVENING, COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE.—Before Commissioner Morton—Case of Capt. Storer, the examination of Capt. *Storer*, of the bark Ann D. Richardson, charged with having engaged in the transportation of slaves from the coast of Africa to Charleston.

The letter directed to this W. Clapp, found in the Captain's cabin, was opened by Mr. Clapp in the presence of the Commissioner. It was in Spanish, and is signed Joshua H. Clapp, at Rio Janeiro, and contained a copy of the charter party of the vessel, dated Rio, Nov. 16, 1848, the second article of which provides that the vessel after being loaded shall proceed with all possible dispatch to the coast of Africa, or Madagascar, or any other place shall be pointed out by the charterer, and there deliver her cargo. The charterer is Jose Antonio Ferdi Lima, and the charter party was signed on behalf of the vessel by Joshua M. Clapp as agent. It is also signed by Capt. Storer, agreeing to carry out the charter party. The letter was addressed to Messrs. Gelston, Mr. Otis W. C. (who is a very young man,) to give Capt. Storer all necessary advice, &c. A letter of instructions was also read, from R. W. C. to Capt. Storer, directing him to proceed to New York, and remain till informed by said R. W. C. to report to be shall proceed on the Coast of Africa. The sea letter from the American Consul at Rio was also shown, directing the bark to proceed to the United States, and if found out of her course by any cruiser at sea she must be considered as engaged in illegal trade.

A letter written by Capt. Storer to his mother, but not directed, was also found in the papers. It was dated Dec. 14, states that he is bound to a place named, &c. and will not be back to Rio for four months.

The Commissioner then intended that the letter or instrument from Mr. Clapp to Capt. Storer, directing him to proceed to the coast of Africa, (published on Tuesday) was dated 13th December, instead of 14th as contended for prosecution. The Commissioner considered it, as the District Attorney considered that the doubt is in favour of the party. The point is important—the theory of the defence being that the American Consul refused to give the usual papers for a voyage to the coast of Africa, and that the vessel was ordered legitimately to make, York. The instructions to latter effect were dated 14th, and the question is whether the instructions for the coast of Africa were dated before or after 14th.

Mr. Joseph W. Bradford, acting sailing master of the prize crew, testified to first seeing the Ann D. Richard. charge of Capt. Peabody. The United States brig Perry, on 14th Dec. as already stated was directed by the Commodore to follow her to sea and examine her character. The A. D. R. loosed her sails and appeared to be getting ready for sea, and a large steamer came down apparently to tow her out—the Perry ran under way, but the A. D. R. did not weigh anchor, and afterward furled her sails—it might have been because it commenced raining. The steamer with vessels put to sea, as already stated. The examination ceased. Mr. Holtman, for defence, contended that nothing has been shown to warrant the idea that the A. D. R. was intended for the slave trade, and argument was made upon the various depositions. Mr. Shepherd, on the other side, thought there was a prima facie case to detain the defendant, beside which the certificate, &c. on board the vessel had not yet been examined and its nature ascertained.

The Commissioner decided that Capt. S. must be held in white the investigation.

Transatlantic Reprints.

An advertisement in one of the Southern American papers states that—

"The subscriber has for sale six shie-bolded mechanics, which will dispose of to the highest bidder, for cash or approved paper, on Saturday next."

The "mechanics," the antecedents to the neuter pronoun relative, are, it is needless to observe, negro slaves. Who, according to the Dictionary, is applied to persons, which is applied to animals and inanimate things. This rule, it seems, is modified by Anglo-American grammarians, who, in their authorship, make it applied to Christians, which to animals, inanimate things, and—slaves. Now, according to the principles of English grammar, the term which, on the contrary, should

☞Mr. Edwin Chapman of Ashley Hall, Bristol, England, says, in a private letter to a friend in this country:

"Permit me one word with regard to foreign and domestic evils. I do not shut my eyes while feeling sorrowful and indignant at American Slavery, to the condition of vast masses in my native country. It is with me a mournful and a fearful subject. My hope and consolation is that all classes are waking up to a perception of the evil that education, in the comprehensive sense of the word, is enlightening the millions, and that time only is required to enable them to work out their own redemption from bondage to ignorance, poverty and vice, there being not any "peculiar institution" demanding their everlasting degradation."

We have never known a British Abolitionist of any worth who held any other sentiment than one of entire sympathy with the masses of Great Britain, the continued assertion of the Pro-Slavery press of this country to the contrary notwithstanding. Indeed, the great mass of the Anti-Slavery people of Great Britain, those who fought the battle of Emancipation with the Government and the West India interest, were themselves of the working class; and those of them who were of the nobility and gentry, were known then, or are known now, as the leaders in every movement for the good of man. Mr. Chapman truly represents his Anti-Slavery fellow countrymen as a class.

The Prayers of the American Republic.—In the proclamation for a day of public thanksgiving and praise, just issued by the Governor of the State, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, to the people of the State, they are among other things advised to pray that God, "will vouchsafe His aid to our fellowmen in the Old World, who are struggling to throw off the oppression of ages, and to regain their long-lost rights."

"That He will in our own country arrest the further extension of Slavery, and open the way in His wise providence for the extinction of an institution, alike repugnant to the rights of humanity, and to that just rule of conduct laid down by the Son of God, binding upon all men, everywhere, of 'doing unto others, as we would that others should do unto us.'"

The proclamation is counter-signed by the Slaveholder, W. B. Calhoun.

"There is something ludicrous," says the (Boston) *Christian Register*, in quoting the above brief article from the *London Inquirer*, "in the confounding of Mr. W. B. Calhoun, Secretary of State of Mass. with Mr. J. C. Calhoun, United States Senator for South Carolina." The London editor certainly ought to be ashamed of himself for not knowing the geographical difference between Massachusetts and South Carolina, but he was not so far wrong as to the moral similitude between their statesmen. If the thanksgiving proclamation of Massachusetts was not countersigned by a Slaveholder, it was *signed* by a Governor who beat up for recruits for the Slaveholders' war.

☞The petition which the Mayor and Council of the city of Washington offered, or rather signed,—for whether it has ever been offered or not to Congress seems a question—asking for the abolition of the Slave Trade in the District of Columbia is as follows:

To the Honourable, the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled:

The undersigned, Members of the Board of Aldermen and Common Council of the city of Washington, having in common with their fellow-citizens long regarded with disapprobation the importation of slaves into the District of Columbia for purposes of sale or traffic elsewhere, deeming it alike prejudicial to the interest of our city and offensive to public sentiment, request your honourable body to restrain such traffic by the enactment of some law similar in its provisions to that embraced in the code of Laws for the District of Columbia, reported to the House of Representatives in the year 1832, by Mr. Wilde of Georgia, and to the Senate by Mr. Chambers of Maryland; the enactments in the adjoining States of Maryland or Virginia on this subject; or grant to the respective corporate authorities of Washington and Georgetown such powers as will enable them to remedy this evil.

The Fugitive Slave Law.—The bill for the further protection of personal liberty, is still before the Legislature of this State. The latest action upon it was upon the 1st. instant, in the Senate, when

Mr. Treadwell called for the consideration of the report of the committee of the whole on the bill for the further protection of personal liberty.

Mr. Tamblin moved to lay it on the table. Lost; ayes 5, nays 13.

After a long debate the report was agreed to, and the bill ordered to a 3d reading; ayes 17, nays 5, as follows:—

Ayes—Messrs. Betts, Bokee, Brownson, Burch, Coffin, Bole, Colt, Cook, Cornwell, Fine, Fox, Fuller, Geddes, S. H. P. Hall, Hawley, Little, Treadwell—17.

Nays—Messrs. Bush, Clark, Lawrence, Tamblin, Williams—5.

Ten of the Senators it seems were absent from their seats, or did not vote.

☞The Pennsylvania Freeman says that a society has recently been formed in Philadelphia, under the name of the Philadelphia Anti-Slavery Society, auxiliary to the American Anti-Slavery Society. This movement is among the coloured people, and may be considered as a sort of reaction to the attempts which have recently been made in Philadelphia, we are sorry to hear, by Mr. C. L. Remond to alienate the coloured people from the Abolitionists. Precisely what are the grievances complained of by Mr. Remond we have not learned, and are at a loss to guess.

☞Hon. S. Lauren will accept our thanks for a copy of a Congressional map of the Battles of Mexico, with the lines of the marches and encampments of the American freebooters, very appropriately printed in *red*.

The Steamer United States, about which some anxiety was felt, arrived at this port on Monday afternoon, after a passage of 27 days from Cowes. She brings no later news than that received by the *Canada*.

To Correspondents.

J. R. L. "Flaccid, that will not fling against the wind!" He shall hear from us speedily nevertheless.

S. A. R. Such communications are rejected, not because the subject is not an important one, nor because our belief is not entirely orthodox with regard to it, nor because the communications may not possess great merit; but simply because the *Standard* is devoted to the Anti-Slavery cause, and cannot run the risk, even could it do so in good faith with its readers, of a lengthened controversy on other subjects.

Notes on New Books.

Our Cousins in Ohio. By Mary Howitt. From the Diary of an American Mother. *New York, Collins & Brothers, 254 Pearl st.*

Mrs. Howitt had, as many of her friends and admirers know, a sister in Ohio, who died, we believe, within a year. This little book, it would seem, is from her Diary, and Mrs. Howitt's share in it is merely that of editor. So we conclude from the announcement in the Preface that it is "entirely true," which leaves no room for the supposition that it is in any degree fictitious.

To write good—we do not use the word in all limited sense—books for children is a rare talent, and Mrs. Howitt's sister seems to have possessed it in an eminent degree. There are no very wonderful incidents in this book, and nothing in the circumstances of the parties concerned to create them. The home of the author is on the banks of the Ohio, a short distance back from the river, embellished with taste, and comfortable with all the appliances which competence produces; but in these respects would not probably be distinguished from thousands of other homes, equally beautiful and with no greater comforts. But its charm is in the life of the family who dwell there, whose daily acts of business and of pleasure are recorded with a simplicity and truthfulness which reveals a beautiful picture of a harmonious and happy domestic circle, bound together by mutual love, working together in the round of daily duties, and aiding and encouraging each other in all pursuits and studies, tending to cultivate the mind, and enlarge the heart. All the facts here told of a year's life might happen to any family in a pleasant neighbourhood, and blessed with so much of this world's goods as to be not without all necessary comforts and many luxuries, and yet not removed from the necessity of labour, but the inner life of these people shines through these outward facts, and makes a history, which, we remember enough of our childhood's feelings to be sure, must delight and amuse all young persons. The Story, if a diary of actual occurrences may be called so, is full of country pleasures, crowded with rural sights and sounds, and will give a thousand hints to children of pleasant and useful occupations, even if, as poor denizens of cities, they have only a yard, with a bit of grass of the size of a table-cloth, to play in. The book is intended specially for children, but grown people need not be ashamed to be seen reading it. It is a most delightful one for the young, or the old who remember that they have been young.

Blackwood's Magazine. *L. Scott & Co.'s republication.* The number for January was issued ten days ago, and excites something more than the ordinary interest from the announcement, which is confidently made in various quarters, that "The Caxtons," continued in this number, is by Bulwer. With something of an apparent imitation of Southey's "Doctor," and something more of "Tristram Shandy," as we have observed in some former notice, the "Caxtons" is nevertheless an admirable and most original work, and in altogether a new vein for its author. But without the chapters of this popular novel, the present number of Blackwood is unusually interesting. The leading paper, on the year of Revolutions, we have no doubt is well written, and high Toryish, though we have not read it; but the several reviews of a late and very valuable work on the Artists of Spain, by W. Sterling; of the Memoirs of Kirkaldy of Grange, of the one stalwart knights of the most eventful periods of Scottish history, and whose life was a romance; of the Dodo and its Kindred, an article of special interest to naturalists; and of a german book of travels up the White Nile, are all of them excellent in their way, and give the reader a good insight into the subject of the book reviewed.

The present number of Blackwood, we observe, is the first of a new volume, the best time of course to commence a subscription.

Memoirs of Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, Baronet.—With Selections from his Correspondence, Edited by his son, Charles Buxton, Esq. *Henry Longstreth, Market street, Philadelphia.* Contrary to our expectations this book has found a publisher in this country, and the fact deserves to be marked as one of the "signs of the times." Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton's fame rests, as those of our readers who have taken the trouble to follow us in a review of the events of his life, know, upon years of devoted and self-sacrificing devotion to the cause of West India Emancipation.—Such a character is not one to command the admiration of our pro-slavery countrymen, and as Anti-Slavery literature has hitherto been *tabooed* by American publishers, such are publication as this, out of the ranks of Abolitionists proper, marks an era in the history of book-making in this country. Mr. Longstreth, we trust may find it a successful experiment.

We need not say that we regard this biography a most valuable addition to the literature of Anti-Slavery, as we have given good evidence of the estimation in which we hold it, in the liberal extracts we have made from its pages. Mr. Buxton, the son, who modestly styles himself the editor of the work, and would convey, by his title-page, the impression that he only arranged and published his father's correspondence, rather than that he was the writer of a biography, has fulfilled the first duty, so far as it was necessary, with admirable good taste and judgment; and his task as a writer of his father's life, which was much the most difficult, he has performed so faithfully as to make the volume in fact an original work, and at the same time, with such impartiality and ability as to render it one of great value and interest. As a history of the Anti-Slavery movement in Great Britain it is as yet unequalled, and from the circumstances of the case can hardly be surpassed till a more general history of British Emancipation shall cover the whole ground, and include the biographies of various persons.

Mr. Longstreth's publication is well printed in clear type, on good paper, and makes a handsome volume. It includes a portrait of Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, which is a remarkably correct copy of that contained in the English edition, though the engraving is one of these poor mezzotints for which Philadelphia is, or ought to be, both famous and infamous.

As the publisher, we believe, will have, in a great measure, to rely upon Abolitionists for a remuneration for his enterprise in giving this work to American readers, we again express the hope that he may not be disappointed, and that the experiment may prove that the reading Anti-Slavery world—which is not a small one—is willing to pay for that of the want of which they have, in past time, with so much reason complained. There is a fund of valuable and interesting Anti-Slavery reading, literally sealed books to American readers, because no American publisher ventures to risk a republication of English works of this character in this country.

General Intelligence.

Congressional.

We copy from the *Herald* the following report of a debate on Slavery in the House on the 30th ulto.

The House then resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole on the State of the Union, (Mr. J. R. Ingersoll in the chair,) and proceeded to the consideration of the bill making appropriations for the support of the Navy for the year ending June 30, 1850.

Mr. C. Brown, of Pennsylvania, said that, for the last twenty years, he had opposed the agitation of the question of Slavery. He had heretofore been content to give a vote merely, and would not now address the Committee, were it not for the remarkable speech of the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. Thompson) which struck him and the House with surprise. The gentleman had been inconsistent in his course on this subject, (which Mr. Brown proceeded to show.) Mr. Brown referred to a paragraph in the speech of Mr. Thompson, to the effect: "While our constituents are calm at home, praying for the peace and prosperity of the country, there are persons in this hall disturbing the tranquility of the Union. But, thank God, there was a time coming, when a spirit of conservatism would arise from the Federal Executive, which would pour oil upon the troubled waters when neither Whigs nor Democrats would especially be consulted, but the welfare of the country." No doubt the gentleman honestly expressed his sentiments; but a change had come over the spirit of his dream. Mr. Brown attributed Mr. Thompson's feelings to the influence of the man of the South (General Taylor) and the future prospects of the Whig party. If conservatism—that which will allay angry excitement and preserve the Union—be the result of General Taylor's election, then he would regret that he had opposed him in the last campaign. He congratulated the country on the bright prospects which are now before us. Mr. Brown condemned the movements of the agitators. Among other things, he said that, the other day, the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Giddings,) offered a resolution, to allow the blacks of the District to vote on the subject of abolition here. The proposition received seventy-seven votes. Among them were members from Connecticut, the people of which State, not long ago, by a vote of three to one, refused to pass a law giving to blacks the right of suffrage. Illinois has voted that no negro shall come and live there; and yet members from that State voted in this House to make negroes equal to white men. Pennsylvania has excluded negroes from voting, after solemn adjudication, yet he found Pennsylvanians here voting for the same objectionable resolution. His colleague (Mr. Wilmot) at one time repudiated all connection with the abolition, and said that he had no sympathy with the negroes, and that all he did was for the free men of the North. He voted to suppress all abolition petitions; but at this session, he not only supported the proposition to allow negroes to vote in this District, but supported all the other schemes of Slavery agitation. This showed where we are going. As a gentleman said the other day, like children we begin to creep, then walk, and next run. So with members of the House; they say that they do not wish to interfere with Slavery in the States, and to produce insurrection in the South; yet they always vote with the agitators. If they are honest, let them be consistent; let them take the beam out of their own eye before they discover the mote in their brothers'. Mr. Brown contended that it was the duty of the North to deliver up fugitive slaves; but this has frequently been refused, contrary to the requirement of the Constitution. The gentleman from Bradford wants emancipation and social equality for the negroes.

Mr. Wilmot—No such thing at all.

Mr. Brown repeated that gentleman wanted the emancipation of the negro race. He had pondered on the effect of this. To him it was fearful; emancipation now, or at any time in the future, was fearful to the white race, and still more fearful to the blacks. Could any gentlemen point out to him three millions of negroes without the United States, superior in morals, physical and mental endowments, to the three millions of slaves in this country? Slavery may be an evil, to produce good for the blacks, for it pleases God, in his wisdom, to place individuals, as well as nations, in bonds, to be ultimately received by a better salvation. Wherever free negroes have established themselves in a body, they have deteriorated. Who is the Governor of Liberia? He was a slave. Frederick Douglass was here a slave. Who is an eloquent divine in Liberia, and who spoke in intelligent audiences in Alabama? He was a slave; his name is Ellis. He knows the Greek and Hebrew. Slavery has not been an evil to the negro, but to the white race; and the latter, if either, deserve sympathy.

The Chairman announced to the gentleman that his hour had expired.

The same paper reports a debate on the 31st ulto. on the Slave Trade in the District.

The committee were called for reports. That on the Judiciary, through its chairman, had presented several, when

Mr. Edwards, of Ohio, from the Committee for the District of Columbia, reported a bill to prohibit the introduction, into the District of Columbia, of slaves, either for sale or hire. He moved that it be referred to the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and be printed.

Several voices:—"What's that?" "Slavery in the District?" "What's it about?"

Mr. Wentworth's tall form arose, and he anxiously asked for the reading of the bill.

There being no objection, the Clerk proceeded to read. The chirography seemed to be bad, judging from the frequent halts of that officer. Mr. Edwards took a stand near him, to facilitate the deciphering. The bill provides

1. The business of introducing or importing slaves into the District of Columbia for sale or hire, is prohibited.

2. If any person shall do so, or be accessory thereto, he shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and, on conviction, shall be fined $500, and be imprisoned not less than one, nor more than six months for every slave so introduced.

3. All contracts or bargains entered into, either verbally or in writing, for such purposes, shall be null and void.

4. When any citizen of the District shall bring into the District a slave, he shall within forty-eight hours, go before the Clerk of the Circuit Court and take an oath that the said slave or slaves have not been brought here for sale or hire, but brought here for his own use, and for no other purpose whatever.

5. The clerk shall give a certificate that the oath has been taken, and it is made his duty to keep a perfect record thereof.

6. The person violating these provisions, shall be arrested by the marshal or constable, and taken before some judge or justice, and held to bail or in custody, to take his trial at the next term of the criminal court; provided that this shall not apply to any person visiting the District, as now authorized by law, for a term not exceeding twelve months, for hire; and provided, that nothing shall be construed to prevent any person removing to the District from bringing their slaves with them, etc.

7. The money collected in pursuance of this act, shall be applied for the support of the poor: and

8. The Secretary of State, immediately after the passage of this act, shall cause it to be published in four newspapers, for the space of two months, and on the first of August next the act shall take effect.

The above we believe to be the outline, so far as could be gathered by the unsatisfactory manner of the reading.

Mr. Wentworth again rose.

The Speaker—The question is on ordering the bill to be printed.

Mr. Wentworth—If we vote now——

Mr. Lincoln, of Illinois, (on the other side of the hall.) I wish to make an inquiry.

The Speaker—The gentleman on the right rose to make an inquiry. ("Make it." "Go on.")

Mr. Lincoln—It is, whether, or not, if we now order the printing, the bill can be ordered to be engrossed to-day? ("Oh no!" "Let it be printed.")

The Speaker—It may be ordered to a third reading.

Mr. Wentworth—Since I have been here, Mr. Speaker, a large number of such bills have been introduced from time to time, and the gentlemen who brought them forward should have the credit for it. The intelligence goes abroad that they have been introduced, but, at the same time, when they are referred to the Committee of the Whole, there is an end of the matter.

Mr. Sawyer, of Ohio—If my friend from Illinois will permit me——

Mr. Wentworth, (earnestly)—No. I don't trouble the House as much as the gentleman does. [Ha! ha!] I want to explain further. I hope that the gentleman who introduced the bill will go with me, and pass it this session. I trust that we will vote now. It is perhaps as good a bill as we can pass during the session; therefore, I express the hope that all gentlemen in favour of the object, will vote down the motion to commit and order the bill to be engrossed.

Mr. Chapman, of Maryland, (the Chairman of the Committee for the District of Columbia)—I rise to give notice that I am opposed to this bill, as reported. As a member of the Committee, I wish to say that, however correct may be the principles gentlemen may wish to carry out, this bill does not meet my sanction and approbation. I give notice, that when the bill comes up for consideration, I shall move a substitute for it, which is not yet prepared. The substitute, it is true, will place the question entirely where it belongs, that is, with the corporate authorities of this District. I could not, as a member, vote for this, because it contains provisions which, in my judgment, Congress has no constitutional power to pass. I do not now mean to enter into a discussion of the principles of the bill, or to inquire what is right and proper. I mean merely to say that I am opposed to the principles of the bill, and shall, at the proper time, when the bill comes up, give my views of it as to the constitutional powers of this Government over the question of Slavery. The majority of the committee authorized the gentleman from Ohio to report the bill. A good many amendments were hurriedly adopted this morning, as is frequently the case on important matters. Therefore, there was not time to perfect the language of the various sections.

Mr. Haralson, of Georgia—Judging from the intimations of the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. Wentworth), I apprehend that any action taken now is not to be the final action of Congress. He tells the House that this is as good a bill as we can pass this session, evidently meaning that it is to be followed by other action. Where this is to terminate, no one can foresee; but he intimates that action is not to stop here.—It is to be the entering wedge for further action. I move to lay the bill on the table.

Mr. Wentworth—Yeas and nays; let's have the yeas and nays. [Several voices: "yeas and nays."]

Mr. Robert Smith, of Illinois—I rise to make an appeal. Will the gentleman let me have the floor for a moment?

Mr. Haralson refused to withdraw the motion, and the yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. Smith—I make an appeal, only for a moment. I wish to know whether the gentleman withdraws the motion, to enable me to set myself right?

Mr. Haralson—I really would, were it not for the fact that I have refused other gentlemen.

Mr. Smith—I am misrepresented.

The Speaker—The yeas and nays have been ordered.

Mr. Brodhead—I wish to propound an inquiry. If the gentleman from Georgia withdraws the motion to lay on the table, will—("Order," "order," "order.") I ask of the Chair whether—("Call the roll"—"Go on with it"—"Question," "question," "order,")—whether ("Order,") if the previous question be sustained, it will not bring the House to a ("Order," "order,") vote on ordering the bill to be engrossed?

The Speaker—Yes.

Several gentlemen said something, the purport of which could not be heard for the confusion.

The yeas and nays were taken, and, by a vote of 71 to 117, the House refused to lay the bill on the table.

Mr. Robert Smith immediately rose, after the Speaker announced the result. He was understood to say—I am glad that the motion to lay upon the table did not prevail. I shall vote for the reference, that the bill may undergo examination. I am opposed to bringing these questions here, when gentlemen have no opportunity to place themselves right before the country. There is too much of legerdemain here. I have been forced to vote, without an opportunity for explanation, as a choice of evils. I will not place any gentleman in such a position. The gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. Brown) placed me in a predicament not at all agreeable.

The Speaker interposed. Remarks are not in order in the House as to what was said in Committee of the Whole.

Mr. Smith—I thought that I might refer to what was said there, to show the impropriety of the matter. When the subject was up some time ago, on the resolutions introduced by the gentleman from Ohio, (Mr. Giddings,) a motion was made to lay them on the table. I voted against the motion, and for that I am charged with having voted to give the blacks the right to vote as to whether Slavery shall be abolished in the District. There is not a man on this floor less inclined to extend to them this privilege than myself. I could show, by the same method of reasoning, that twenty-seven members of the South are in favour of prohibiting the Slave Trade in the District of Columbia.—The previous question was sustained by my Southern friends, who were found voting with the member from Ohio and others who profess to be Abolitionists. Would it be honest for me to apply the same rule? By voting to lay upon the table, I wished to refer the bill introduced this morning to the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union. I am willing to leave the subject there. This question has to be met, and it were better that it should be met in the spirit of fairness and candour. This charge against me did not come from gentlemen of the South, but from a Northern advocate with Southern principles. ("A Northern man with Southern principles! he! ha! ha!") As far as the South is concerned in the possession of their property, within the limits where it now exists, I claim to be as warm a friend as the gentleman, or any other member; and I appeal to the record for the truth of this assurance. I am no agitator; I have never fostered agitation on this question. On many occasions, I have been forced to vote for a choice of evils. I have always voted, and will continue to vote, to sustain the institutions which are local. I think, however, that Slavery is a moral and political evil, and I will not give my vote or influence to extend Slavery to territories now free. (Mr. Giddings rubbed his hands, and Mr. Wentworth smiled in approbation.)

Mr. Brown, (the gentleman alluded to)—I am willing to vote for a bill to prevent the slave traffic, but not to interfere with the rights of the people of the District. I am opposed now to the agitation of the subject at all. This House is not in proper temper now to do justice to the matter. I want the discussion to be cool and calm, ("Now or never!")

Mr. Smith—I said that I would not vote to extend Slavery to territories now free; I meant to say exclude

Mr. Venable, (the Secretary of the late Southern Convention)—There is one subject on which I wish to set myself right, before the House and the country. We have been charged on several occasions, and among others, by the gentleman from Illinois, who has just taken his seat, with being fanatics on the question of Slavery. I presume that the twenty-four or twenty-five Southern men who voted for the previous question, on the occasion alluded to, come within that category.

Mr. Smith—I wish the gentleman to understand that I intended to apply my remarks to no particular gentleman. I made the remarks to apply generally, because some persons are fanatical on the subject of Slavery. I had no intention to indulge in personalities.

Mr. Venable—I am gratified with the explanation.

Mr. Brown—I know that the gentleman does not mean what he says. (Ha! ha! ha!)

Mr. Venable—I want to put the gentleman right before the country; but other gentlemen don't seem to understand it. The resolution of the gentleman from New York [Mr. Gott] to abolish the Slave Trade in the District, was accompanied by a most offensive preamble. My friend from Georgia, moved to lay it on the table, and the gentleman from Illinois voted against the motion. It was a gross insult to the South. We were compelled to present it before the House, and I voted to put the question to a test. I have always preferred the soldier's sword to the assassin's dagger. It was due to the South and to the country, to show how far defection had gone. When gentlemen from the North were constrained to vote for the preamble, I knew the ground upon which they stood; they were driven by an irresistible force at home. Suppose a proposition was made for the relief of an honourable member of this House, and the preamble said he was a scoundrel, therefore we would grant $500 for his relief—is there a man who would receive relief with such a preamble? Just so with the South; they are charged with being inimical to liberty, and gentlemen have not the nerve to vote to lay it on the table, because an irresistible force impels them. I have seen a child go into the woods to kindle a fire, and have seen the flames leap among the dry leaves and consume the whole wood. This fanaticism was very good to make thunder at home, but it was setting the country in a flame, and gentlemen have not the nerve to vote it down; and we are blamed for supporting the previous question. Gentlemen are not afraid to go home and say that they voted against the Gott resolution. I glory in having voted to sustain the previous question, because it made men say they were afraid to go home without voting for that odious proposition; and it demonstrated to the South that the abolition spirit is irresistible. I know patriotic and honest men at the North, who stand by the compromises of the Constitution; but there are others who call us fanatics. In the long history of our country, show me where the South has ever invaded the institutions of the North, or ever raised a hand and asked for anything not authorised by the grants of the Constitution. If this be fanaticism, let me ever be a fanatic. There are some who do not love the Union, but the connection. I love this sacred Union, with the love like that between man and wife; it is respected over the whole world. I love the glorious marriage ceremony, which was performed when the States came into the Union. There are some, I repeat, who love, not the Union, but the connection, and who defy every principle involved. For heaven's sake, deliver me from the man who pats me on the shoulder, takes me to his embrace, and then stabs me!

Mr. Hudson, of Massachusetts—I have repeatedly heard the accusation that members from the North are afraid of influences at home. I repel the accusation, and ask from what source does the gentleman derive his information?

Mr. Venable—I except your district.

Mr. Hudson, (sternly)—I ask no exception, and will receive none. The gentleman has repeated the assertion that Northern gentlemen are afraid of their constituents, and are compelled to vote contrary to their own convictions. I ask the gentleman by what authority he hurls the imputation on me and other members? Has he not told us that the laws of his own State are right and proper and has he not intimated that he will apply the same provision to the District that exists in his own State? And has he not voted to reject utterly a bill containing no other proposition than that which exists in the laws of other States?

Mr. Venable—The laws of North Carolina contain no such provision.

Mr. Hudson—The State of North Carolina has not found it necessary to pass such laws as have been passed in Mississippi, Maryland, and Virginia, and other Slave States.—I understand that the bill read this morning, and which the gentleman voted to lay on the table, is only applying to the District of Columbia those wise and wholesome provisions which gentlemen of the slaveholding States have adopted within their own jurisdiction.

Mr. Bayly—What laws of Virginia are similar to this bill?

Mr. Hudson—I have understood that there is a law which prevents slaves from being brought into that State for sale.

Mr. Bayly—There is no such law.

Mr. Hudson—There was. If the State has retrograded, she is entitled to all the honours. Another remark was made, that the North is perpetually encroaching on the South, and that no instance can be presented where the South has encroached on the North! I call the attention of the gentleman from North Carolina to the law which has been passed imprisoning the free citizens of the Northern States when they come within Southern borders. Is not this an encroachment on the rights of the North? A black man, in Massachusetts, is as much a citizen as a white man, and when Massachusetts came into the Union every coloured citizen was as much a citizen as any white man. The laws of Virginia, South Carolina, and other States, authorize the imprisonment of these individuals when they come into their waters; not because of crime, but the colour of their skin.

Mr. Bayly—The gentleman mistakes the laws of Virginia; he does not understand them.

Mr. Hudson—I know that the laws of Louisiana and South Carolina are similar to those to which I have referred. These States not only passed laws by which free citizens of Massachusetts and other States are imprisoned, but they have gone farther, and have passed laws which they will not permit to be annulled by the supreme tribunals of the land. All that the North asks, all that Massachusetts asks, is, that this question be brought before the Supreme Court of the United States. If the Court say that the law is right, Massachusetts will bow in submission; if the Court annul the law, she will expect that South Carolina will bow. ("That's fair!") But the South is not willing to submit to the tribunal which the Constitution has provided. If an individual of high character goes to one of these States, on suspicion he is not permitted to take the necessary steps to bring one of these questions before the Supreme Court, but is told that, unless he leaves the city of Charleston forthwith, his own life will be in danger. With such laws on the statute book, they come forward and challenge a single instance to show that the South, in any degree, has interfered with the North.

Mr. Haralson—Did not these laws grow out of the interference of the North with the South, and passed by the South, as a preventive of evil?

Mr. Hudson—If a vessel from the North touches the harbour of Charleston, and there is a coloured cook on board, who does not even set his foot on shore, an officer of South Carolina goes on board and takes the negro to the shore, and imprisons him, and the master of the vessel has to pay the necessary charges.

Mr. Rhett, of South Carolina, (in reply to Mr. Hudson.)—The gentleman is mistaken. The law is not levelled against the North, but against all the States, and against Great Britain. Does not the gentleman know that the law sprung out of an attempt at insurrection in the city of Charleston by people from the North? In making defence, did we aggress?

Mr. Hudson—I am acquainted with that portion of history which relates to Great Britain. I know that the British authorities once demanded satisfaction; and I know that this law was brought before a judge of the State Court of South Carolina; and he, a Southern judge, pronounced the law unconstitutional and void. I venture to say now that South Carolina knows too well the character she is dealing with, to enforce the law against the subjects of Great Britain.

Mr. Rhett—It has been enforced against the British Government as well as against the North. I say this with a perfect knowledge. The law has been applied with an equal hand to all. A complaint was made by the British authorities that a negro had not been in proper keeping, but put with persons who had been charged with crimes. The subject was brought before the Legislature of South Carolina.—I wish gentlemen to understand that the law has been applied to all, indiscriminately. They had not paid more deference to the lion than the people of the North.

Mr. Hudson—I suppose that South Carolina would dare the world in arms. [Ha! ha! ha!] I know that a United States vessel has gone into the port of Charleston, and that a police officer has taken from on board a coloured man, and that the United States had to pay the fee. The money was taken out of the treasury for this purpose.

Mr. Holmes, of South Carolina—The gentleman is totally mistaken. ["Louder," "louder."] A negro was taken from a British merchantman, and put in jail, and Judge Johnson declared that the taking and imprisonment was unconstitutional. On this decision the British minister made a representation to Mr. Adams, and Mr. Adams referred the constitutional question to Judge Barrien, at that time Attorney General of the United States, and asked a deliberate investigation. Mr. Adams, from the decision, became convinced that the case was not unconstitutional, being merely a police regulation. He so informed the British minister, and the British minister acquiesced in the confinement of the coloured seamen. The law was passed with a view to prevent blacks coming from the North for the purpose of inciting insurrection which, at one time, by a timely discovery, was prevented from bursting on Charleston with all its horrors.

Mr. Hudson—I say that the law was pronounced to be unconstitutional and void. I am aware that other tribunals have given their decisions against the law.

Mr. Ashmun, of Massachusetts, (by permission of his colleague.)—I think that both gentlemen have overlooked the true point between the North and the South. It is not the constitutionality of the State laws. My own opinion is, that they imprison our citizens in defiance of the express provision of the constitution. I have the clause, [opening the book,] and I desire to read it: "The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States." Yet they imprison our citizens in the Southern ports.

Mr. Thompson, of Pennsylvania—is this debate in order?

The Speaker—It has taken a wide range. The Chair would have arrested it, but there were cries of "go on," "go on."

Mr. Hudson, (in reply to Mr. Ashmun)—I inform my colleague, that I made that point when I first arose. And——

Mr. Thompson—I again rise to a question of order. The gentleman is discussing the laws of South Carolina.

The Speaker—A discussion of the laws of that State is not in order. They may be alluded to, however.

Mr. Hudson—I wished to repel certain imputations. My friend from Pennsylvania has not understood me with his usual acuteness. [Ha! ha!]

Mr. Thompson—No other gentleman can.

Mr. Burt, of South Carolina (Mr. Hudson giving way)—The law of that State was passed in no hostility to Massachusetts, but was passed because it was believed indispensable to the peace and security of South Carolina. While you from Massachusetts have been complaining of this law, how is it that not one single note of complaint is uttered against Ohio, Indiana and Illinois every one of which States has excluded from her borders your black citizens of Massachusetts?

Mr. Thompson—I call the gentleman to order.

Mr. Burt (bowing)—if the gentleman from Pennsylvania is the custodier of the order of this house, I bow to him with submission. ("Ha! ha!" "Good!" "Ha! ha!")

Mr. Thompson again rose.

Mr. Hudson—I call the gentleman to order.

Mr. Thompson—I call you to order.

Mr. Hudson (smiling)—I call my friend to order also.—(Ha! ha! ha!)

Mr. Duer—I want to say one word. ("Hear him!")

Mr. Hudson—I shall not give way. I only want to occupy two more minutes. I will make the point: the coloured citizens of Massachusetts were made so by her constitution, which existed before the establishment of the constitution of the United States. But yet they are seized and imprisoned by laws of the Southern States. Gentlemen say that this is necessary for self-preservation. We of Massachusetts contend that it is not constitutional; they of the South say it is; and in this conflict of opinion we ask that the question be settled by the tribunals of the land. The gentlemen of South Carolina prevent an appeal being taken from the State Courts. If the real sentiments, of members from the South on this floor were known, we would see as much influence behind the throne, controlling their votes, as in the Northern section of the country. And so long as they will not allow an appeal to be taken from their State Courts, do not make imputations on me and other gentlemen on this side of the question.

Mr. Burt, of South Carolina, said: This bill is different from the State laws, which intended slaves as articles of commerce or merchandise. It involves a totally different question, and touches for the first time a most interesting topic connected with Slavery. It touches the point whether Congress has the right to interpose with the sale of slaves? I trust, therefore, on such a question involved, those who may be in favour of the general principle, and those who entertain doubts of the constitutionality of such a law, will let the bill take the course of the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union. I hope that the ill-omened counsels of the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. Wentworth) will not prevail. What right has he to speak on a question of this kind? I say to all, with the greatest respect, that I trust they will not, for the considerations which I have indicated, force this bill through at this moment, and in this way. I doubt whether any Southern man is disposed for one moment to delay action on this bill, or any other connected with Slavery. I am prepared to meet them, but I want to see the bill printed, that all may read it. ("That's fair.")

Mr. Stephens arose, but the floor was assigned to

Mr. Taylor, of Ohio—He said, in substance: I hope that every member will vote to send this bill to the Committee of the Whole. I wish to read it, and to see whether there is anything unconstitutional in it, or not. I tell my friends that I shrink from no responsibility. I was opposed to the preamble of the resolution offered by the gentleman from New York, (Mr. Gott,) because it contained an insult. There is a struggle going on between two disappointed fragments of party. In the late Presidential contest, the gentlemen who favoured General Cass failed to effect their object. Another party, known as the Barnburners, were doubly, trebly defeated. They set their trap at Buffalo to catch a few Abolitionists. They annihilated them, and hence they come here and introduce unnecessary propositions, calculated to disturb the peace of the country, and ask us to vote on the spur of the moment, and without reflection. I sympathise not at all with the faction who assembled in May, 1848, with William Lloyd Garrison at their head, and threatened to break down the Union. I have no sympathy with them, and think that they ought to be scouted by every honest man. I will read one of the resolutions which they passed:—"Slaveholders, as such, have no right to existence on earth. (Ha! ha! ha!) They were never calculated by God to constitute any part of the human race; they are monstrous and diabolical in their origin, and no constitution or religion which endorses them as human beings is to be observed." (Ha! ha! ha!) I warn my Southern friends, while they denounce the North, not to do injustice to Northern men of moderate views. Who was the candidate of the abolition party in 1844? Birney, who was a slaveholder; and, after emancipating or selling his slaves, he went to Michigan, and became a Democratic Abolitionist. We have in Ohio a paper published by a learned gentleman from South Carolina. ("What's his name?") John C. Vaughan; he is the editor of an abolition paper in Cincinnati. We have another, a clerk to the Legislature, [so understood,] by name, Stanley Matthews, who is the editor of an abolition paper. He was a slaveholder in Tennessee a few years ago. In this city, we have an editor, named Bailey, from the State of Virginia. [Ha! ha!] He is here to propagate abolition doctrine (as the editor of the National Era). If I am wrong as to the State, gentlemen will correct me. About the time there was excitement about this establishment, I saw the name of another gentleman, appended to a card, against the efforts supposed to be made to destroy that press, and he, too, was from the South. Mr. J. Q. Adams, while on a visit to Pittsburgh, in 1843, said to a committee there, that he was against the abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia without the consent of the inhabitants. [This, Mr. Taylor read from a paper.] Recently, there was a convention here, of gentlemen from the South—

The Speaker—Such remarks are out of order.

Mr. Taylor—Well, I voted against the resolutions of my colleague, to allow negroes to vote here on the question whether Slavery shall exist in the District. I think them unworthy to stand on the same platform with whites. I look on every effort to dissolve the Union, as proceeding from a factious spirit. I stand by the Union, and frown indignantly on any man, be he from the North or the South, who would violate its integrity. I love the Union now, and I trust that I shall love it forever.

Mr. Brown, of Mississippi, delivered a speech in defence of Southern rights, laying down what the South ought to do—to stand together and act together in the defence of their institutions, and what the North had no right to interfere with. He condemned the idea of legislating in any important matter for the people of the District of Columbia, against their consent.

Mr. Stephens followed in a few remarks. He said that he did not know that he could support all the provisions of the bill under consideration, but to prohibit the introduction of slaves into this District for traffic he was prepared to vote. He desired time to examine the bill, and, to postpone the subject, he moved that the House resolve itself into a Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union; but, at the suggestion of the Speaker, he waived his motion for sundry executive communications to be received, which were laid on the table and ordered to be printed.

General Items.

Arrival of a Supposed Slaver.—The brig Independence, of New York, Owen Burns, master and owner, forty-one days from Rio Janeiro, arrived at this port yesterday. The I. was seized by the United States brig Perry on the 18th Dec. 1848, off Rio, and sent home on suspicion of having been engaged in the slave trade. Lieut. James B. Lewis, prize master; Passed Midshipman Wm. T. Truxton, acting master.—*Norfolk Herald, 31st*

Constitutional Reform in Kentucky.—Meetings for this object are being held in various parts of the State. Gradual Emancipation of Slavery appears to be the principal reform demanded. A meeting of this kind was held at Louisville on the 27th ult. over which Dr. *John Alexander* presided, and William Tompkins acted as Secretary. Forty Delegates were appointed to the State Convention, which was to meet on the 5th of February at Frankfort. Among the Delegates we perceive the names of Chas. and Sam'l M. Thruston, John P. Oldham, Gwyn Page, Dr. E. D. Weatherford, Hamilton Page, Col. Wm. Preston, and many other leading advocates of Emancipation. Several of the papers throughout the State have opened their columns to the discussion of Slavery, and the Legislature is discussing the several projects of Constitutional Reform.

Emancipation in Kentucky.—The following joint resolutions, preceded by a preamble, have been introduced into the Legislature of Kentucky;

Be it enacted, &c. That, in the opinion of this Legislature, the present agitation of the subject of Emancipation is premature and must result in evil, and only evil.

Resolved, That the only hope of relief to Kentucky from the vast and acknowledged evils of Slavery is in a long, gradual course of preparatory legislation in combination and in unison with private and voluntary effort, and in the ultimate colonization of the blacks beyond the limits of the United States.

Resolved, That in view of the great curse of a free coloured population to any community in which they are incorporated, the early creation of a moderate sinking fund, with the purpose of assisting in getting rid of and colonizing the blacks now free, or such as hereafter become free in Kentucky, would be a wise, prudent, and laudable expenditure of money by the people of this Commonwealth.

Resolved, That this great cause, in the magnitude of its interest, and in the difficulty of its accomplishment, is worthy of the exertion of the National energies

Resolved, That our Senators be instructed, and our Representatives be requested to urge upon Congress the propriety of the creation of a National sinking fund out of the proceeds of the public lands, to aid the efforts and promote the ends of Colonization, and of contributing to the ends in any other proper way; and if there be no sufficient constitutional warrant for these purposes, to propose, sustain, and pass the necessary amendment to the Constitution.

Married.

In Watertown, Massachusetts Estes Howe, M. D. of Cambridge, to Lois Lilly, daughter of the late Ahijah White, Esq. of the former place.

Died.

In this city, on 7th day morning, the 3d instant, Mary Shoemaker, eldest daughter of Abraham and Margaret Shoemaker, of this city.

February 2, Alexander Ming, Sen. 76.

George C. DeKay, formerly a Captain in the South American service, and Commander of the Macedonian on her voyage of relief to Ireland.

In Merblehead, on the 3d instant, Rev John Bartlett, aged 66—pastor of the Unitarian Church and Society in Marblehead, over which he has been settled 37 years.

In Concord, New Hampshire, David L. Morrill, LL. D. formerly United States Senator, and Governor of the State, 76.

In Philadelphia, the 26th ultimo, Robert Douglass, in the 73d year of his age.

In Philadelphia, on the 24th ultimo, Elizabeth F. wife of Charles Townsend, jr.

At Lord Ashburton's seat, [England] in a few hours, after an attack of apoplexy, the Earl of Auckland, Baron Auckland of West Auckland, county Durham, in the peerage of Great Britain, and Baron Auckland in Ireland; second son of William, first Lord Auckland, and Eleanor, second daughter of Sir Gilbert Elliott, Bart. and sister of the late Earl of Minto. He was born 25th August, 1784, and was therefore in the 65th year of his age.

At Rydal, near Ambleside [England] Hartley Coleridge, eldest son of the late S. T. Coleridge, of bronchitis, after an illness of three weeks, aged 52.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

For the Standard, from Dec. 21st, to Feb. 8, 1849.

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Pearl	7.25 a —.—
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Cuba, white per lb	—.— a —.—
American, yellow,	—.21 a —.22
BRISTLES.	
Duty, 5 per cent ad val.	
St.Pet'sbg, 1st sort lb.	.90 a 1.00
do. 2d sort	.85 a .—
Chalks, gray&white	1.87 a 2.50
Souchong	— a .60
American	30 a 40.
COAL.	
Duty, 30 per cent. ad val.	
Liverpool, Orrel coal	8 00 a 8.50
Newcastle, coarse	7.25 a 7.37½
Scotch	6.25 a .—
Sidney and Picton	5.50 a 6.75
Anthracite, 2,000lbs	4.75 a 5.25
DOMESTICS.	
Shirtings, brown 3-4 yd	3¾ a 4¾
do. do. 7-8	— a —
do. bleached	4¾ a 5
do. S. I. do.	7 a 9
Sheetings, brown 4-4	6 a 9½
do. do. 5-4	10 a 12
do. bleached 4-4	7½ a 10
do. do. 5-4	12 a 15
Calicoes, blue	8 a 10
do. fancy	6 a 12
Plaids	9 a 11
Kentucky jeans,	15 a 30
Satinetts	35 a 50
Checks 4-4	7 a 10
Cotton Osna. S. No. 1	7½ a 8½
do. No. 2	— a 7½
Cotton yarn, 5 a 13	— a 14
do. 14 a 18	17 a 19
do. 20 a 23	— a 19
FLOUR & MEAL.	
Duty, 20 per cent ad val.	
Genesee per bbl.	5 87½ a 6.—
Troy	5 37½ a 5.50
Michigan	5.50 a 5.56¼
Ohio, new	5.05 a 5.56¼
Ohio round hoop	—.— a —.—
Ohio, via Canal	—.— a —.—
Pennsylvania	—.— a .—
Brandywine	5.62½ a .—
Georgetown	5.37½ a 5.50
Baltimore c. mills	5.50¼ a .—
Richmond c. mills	6.25 a 7.25
do. country	5 50 a .—
Alexandria	5.37½ a 5.50
Fredericksburg	5.37½ a 5.50
Petersburg	3.18¾ a .—
Rye flour	3.12 a 3.25½
Cornmeal, Jersey	2.67½ a 2 93¾
do. hhd.	—.— a —.—
FISH	
Duty, 20 per cent ad val.	
Dry cod, cwt.	2.25 a 2.37½
Dry scale	1.28 a 1.50
Pickled cod, bbl.	3.— a 3.25
do. salmon, tcs	15.25 a —.75
Smoked do. lb	— a —
Mackerel, 1, bbl.	7.75 a 8.25
do. No. 1 small	.— a .—
do. No. 2	5.50 a 6.25
do do. North	.— a —.—
do. No. 3 South	3.62 a 3.87
do. do. North	3.75 a 3.87½
Shad, N 1 Ct.hf.bbl.	.— a 7.00
do. No. 2	—.— a 6.00
Bucksp't. bbl.	—.— a —.—
Mass. do.	—.— a —.—
Southern	3.00 a 3.25
Herring, pickled	4.00 a .
do. scale, per box,	— a 35
do. No. 1	— a 25
do. No. 2	— a 20
GRAIN.	
Duty, 20 per cent. ad val.	
Wheat, white bush	1.25½ a 1.30
do Western	1.18 a 1.20
do. Southern	1.05 a 1.15
Rye northern	.65 a .66
Corn north'n & Jer	64 a 65.
do south'n (weight)	67 a .68
do N O & West'n	— a —
Barley, Western,	62 a .64
Oats, northern	41 a .43
do. southern	— a .—
do. New-Jersey	34 a 35
Peas, White,	25 a 87½
Black eyed, bushel	1.00 a 1.87½

FLAX	
Duty: 15 per cent. ad val.	
Russia per lb,	a —
American	9 a —
FEATHERS	
Duty: 25 per cent. ad val.	
Foreign per lb.	— a —
Foreign A. A.	— a —
Live, American	34 a .37½
HAY—Per 100 lbs.	
North River in bales	56 a 56½
HOPS	
Duty, 20 per cent. ad val.	
First sort 1847, lb.	4 a 4½
LEATHER. [Sole]	
Duty, 20 per cent. ad val.	
Oak per lb.	18 a 20
Oak Ohio,	19 a 21
Hemlock, light	15 a 15½
do. middle	14½ a 16½
do. heavy,	12½ a 13
do. damaged	13 a 14
do. poor do.	7½ a 10
LIME	
Thomaston per bbl	80. a .85
LUMBER	
Duty: Timber and firewood, 20 boards, timber, &c. shaped for use, 30; do rough, 20 per ct ad val. Yard selling prices	
Timber w. pine pr.c.ft.	18 a 22
do. east'n scant or beams prM. ft.	13.57 a 15.25
do oak, cu. ft.	.22 a 25
do. Gr. Isl. W.O.	—25 a 28
do. O.scnt.pr.M.ft.	25 a 30
do. Ga.yel.pine (by cargo) per cub. ft.	—22 a 25
Plank Ga. yel. pine pr M foot	—.25 a 30.—
Boards N.R.M.ft.cl.	—.30 a 33.—
do. 2d ql.	22.50 a 25.
do. Box	12.50 a .15
Albany, pine	12 a .18
Plank Alb. pine	23 a .26
Laths E. by car.	1.25 a .—
Shingles bh. 18 in.	1.62½ a 2.—
do. Ced. 3ft. 1st ql.	25.— a —.30
do. do. 2d ql.	24.— a 28.—
do. 2ft. 1st ql.	17.— a 22.—
do. do. 2d ql.	18.— a 19.—
do. Cypress 2d ql.	15.— a 16.—
Heading W.O.pr.M.	50.— a —.58
Staves W. O. pipe	60.— a 68.—
do. do. hhd.	47.— a —.48
do. do. bbl.	30.— a —.33
do. R. O. hhd.	25.— a 39.—
PROVISIONS.	
Duty: Cheese 30; all other 20 per cent. ad val.	
Beef, mess per bbl.	11.50 a 12.50
do. prime	7.00 a 8.25
Pork, mess, Ohio	11. a 11.12
do. prime new	10. a 10.25
Lard	7½ a —.8
Hams, smoked	13 a 14.
Shoulders, smoked	4½ a —.5
Beef do.	— a —.—
Butter, Orange co.	9 a .10
do. West'n dairy	20 a —.22
do. common	— a —
Cheese	6½ a —.7½
SEEDS.	
Duty: flaxseed, clover, and timothy, 20 per cent. ad val.	
Clover, per lb.	—.6 a —7.
Timothy, 7 bush.	19.— a 19.—
Flax, rough	1.— a 1.—
do. clean	1.25 a —.—
TALLOW.	
Duty: tallow, grease, & soap stuff 10 per cent. ad val.	
Rendered,	8 a 8½
WOOL.	
Duty, 30 per cent. ad val.	
Am. Sax'ny. fleece lb.	38 a 40
Am. full blood Merino	34 a 38
Am. ½ & ¾ Merino	31 a 33
Am. native & ¼ do.	22 a 28
Superfine, pulled, ctry.	26 a 30
do. do city	28 a 30
No. 1, pulled, country,	27 a 28
do. city	24 a 28
South Am. washed	9 a 12
do. do. & picked	18 a 23
do. unwashed	5 a 7
Africa	6 a 1
Smyrna,	10 a 13
Mexican,	10 a 11

Poetry.

From the Christian Citizen.

CAPTAIN DRAYTON.

In a dungeon, dark and dreary,
Cheerless, helpless, and alone,
With the damp earth for his pillow,
For his couch the unyielding stone:
With an friendly hand to aid him,
No kind voice his soul to cheer,
I behold a brother lying—
Wherefore does he linger here?

By what crime, what dead atrocious,
Has he won the felon's doom?
Hidden from the blessed sunlight,
In this prison's fearful gloom,
Gloat a brother's life on freedom,
Did he raise his hand to fight?
No! he dared with dauntless spirit,
To do battle for the right.

He had read the glorious language,
On the Gospel's page displayed,
Of one blood, earth's countless nations,
By a father's hand were made."
And upon the negro's forehead,
By his mandate had been placed,
He beheld the stamp of manhood,
Graven by the Eternal's hand.

Where the banner—star-bespangled,
Of a great republic waves,
With a rent insult employed to aid in enslaving,
He beheld his brethren—slaves!
Forthwith sake, his home he quitted,
Fearless of freedom, life, and fame;
Wicked his aid—a sacrifice,
Worthy of a martyr's name.

'Tis for this I see him lying,
In that dungeon, dark and lone,
E'en within the city bearing
The loved name of WASHINGTON.
Tell it not to Europe's millions,
Pinning, struggling, to be free,
That 'tis thus Columbia tramples
On the shrine of Liberty!

Tell it not in a land barbaric,
For a white man's freedom sought,
By some heathen in his darkness,
Into hopeless bondage brought;
Tell it not in Christian nation,
Slavery lifts its hateful face,
And the white man holds in bondage,
Brethren of a darker race;
'Tis a crime, a deed atrocious,
To obey the voice of God,
To release the weary captive,
Break the oppressor's vengeful rod.

Be it so: on Slavery's altar,
Let the living martyr stand—
Heaven's free winds shall waft the story,
To the earth's remotest strand;
And where'er the gorgeous banner
Of the great Republic waves,
Man shall think, with pitying horror,
Of the *Christian land of slaves*

Modbury, England. E

NATURE AND HER LOVER.

BY CHARLES SACKAT.

I remember the time, thou roving sea,
When thy voice was the voice of Infinity—
A joy, and a dread, and a mystery.

I remember the time, ye young May flowers,
When your odours and beauty were in fields and bowers
Fell on my soul, as on grass the showers.

I remember the time, thou blustering wind,
When thy voice in the woods, to my dreaming mind,
Seem'd the sigh of the Earth for human kind.

I remember the time ye sun and stars,
When ye raised my soul from earth and mars,
And bore it through Heav'n in your golden cars.

And has it then vanished, that dreamful time?
Are the winds, and the seas, and the stars sublime,
Dead to thy soul in his manly prime?

Ah no! ah no! amid sorrow and pain,
When the world and its hosts are against my brain,
In the world of spirit I rove—I reign

I feel a deep and a pure delight
In the luxuries of sound and sight—
In the opening day, in the closing night.

The voices of youth go with me still,
Through the field and the wood, by sea or the plain, and the
In the roar of the sea, in the laugh of the rill.

Every flower is a lover of mine,
Every star is a friend divine,
For me they blossom, for me they shine.

To give me joy the oceans roll.
They breathe their secrets to my soul
With me they sing, with me condole.

Man cannot harm me if he would;
I have such friends for my every mood,
In the overdowing solitude!

Fate cannot touch me, nothing can stir
To pain disease or loss of her
Twixt Nature and her worshipper.

Long as the flowers, preach to me skies;
Ye landscapes, glitter in mine eyes:
Whisper ye deeps, your mysteries

Sigh to me winds, ye forests and,
Sweeten to me even thine flowery sod:
Ye are mine—all mine—in the peace of God.

Miscellany.

From the Literary World.

ANCIENT GOLD DIGGINGS.

The California of the Romans was Spain; and if a strong Government and covetous pro-consuls had not kept the power in their own hands, it is as much excitement would have been felt in the sea-ports, as is now apparent in New York. We have no gazette of ancient times, so that we may "ships of Tarshish" were chartered for Spanish ports; and it is only by occasional hints in the historians and poets, that we learn anything about the metallurgy of those days. The most striking exception to this statement is in the case of Pliny the Elder, who, in his Natural History, discourses upon all the metals, and has left us some of the most intractable nuts which are to be found in classical hermeneutics. Amidst some difficulties, arising from the technical and even barbarous terms of the art, there is, nevertheless, enough that is clear, to rebuke the ignorance of some among us, who write and talk as if gold had never been procured in large quantities save in the valley of the Sacramento. In what follows, the authority is Pliny, except where otherwise stated. The reader will, perhaps, while there pore over the Latin, remember the statement of McCulloch, that "it is exceedingly doubtful whether the Carthaginians or Romans ever discovered any mines of gold and silver in Spain."* If Strabo's third book leaves any man in doubt, we can say no more.

According to the Roman naturalist, gold is found in three conditions; first, in the detritus of rivers, as the Tagus, the Po, the Hebrus, the Pactolus, and the Ganges; and this is the purest, by reason of its perpetual attrition. Secondly, shafts are sunk in the earth till a vein is reached; or advantage is taken of some breach in the mountain. Those who dig for gold always regard it as a suspicion when they come to a stratum of *segullum*, a species of earth which lies above the gold. This may have been pyrites, for the *gangue*, or matrix of gold, sometimes consists of this, as well as of quartz, felspar, limestone, and inferior ores, the softer part of which might be named *segullum*. This word, like many other mining terms in Pliny, is of the old Spanish, and exists in the Castilian *Segullo*; philologists at once perceive its analogy with the Gothic *Gulds* (the Norse *Gull*), the Danish *Guld*, and the Anglo-Saxon *Gold*. It is supposed to indicate the scoria, which generally occupies the surface, and as gold has no scoria, this earth was imagined to take its place.—The French commentator says it is called in France *manne*. Removing this *segullum* they gather all the sand and earth, subject it to washing, and judge of its richness of the vein from the residuum. Sometimes these veins are found at the surface, *rara felicitate*, says Pliny; which reminds us of Humboldt's testimony concerning the gold-washers of Rouda, where *pepitas* or masses of gold, from two to three pounds, and even from eighteen to twenty pounds, are found a few inches below the turf.† During the reign of Nero, one such was opened in Dalmatia which yielded fifty pounds weight daily. The gold of wells, or shafts, was called *canalitum* or *canalense*; the veins were here and there in the rock, which he calls marble, and these channels it derived its name. Tunnelling was known and used in this indication, and as they worked their way the vaults were supported by wooden pillars. The gold of these channels was pounded, washed, fired, formed to powder, or brayed in mortars; processes representative of those which are common in the Virginia mines. The gold from the rock was pounded in a second time to the grinding and the fire; and the *cauta* or crucibles were made of *taxonium*, a white argillaceous earth, as the only thing which could endure the heat.‡

The third method, Pliny regards as Titanic: *opera niceris gigantum*. The mountain sides are penetrated by galleries, here in the rock. It is remarkable months before the workmen come to the light of day; these mines are called *arrugiæ*. It is remarkable that this is the very method used in Spain for a mine, *arrugia*.‡ These vaults sometimes fell and destroyed the miners. In their work they were met by masses of stone which prevented their approach; they worked through by means of fire and vinegar; agents celebrated in Hannibal's passage of the Alps, but in what way employed is not in evidence. It was a method which sometimes suffocated the labourers; *in cuniculis exspet et fumus strangulat*; so they beook them to forehammers, striking of masses of fifty-weight, which had to be carried out night and day. Nothing on earth is harder than this flint-rock, except one thing, quoth Pliny, *inter omnia res, ferro durissimum est*, i.e. Gold-hunger, the Californian appetite, is harder yet. When the galleries are complete, they take away the props (*cervices*), and down comes the mountain! The crash is accompanied by a sound beyond all human conception. Often all these labours and perils are undergone, and yet no gold. It was enough for the ancients, Pliny, as for our California emigrants, *sperare quod experent*.

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Anxia custodiis olim, atque aurea vestis,
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When gold became plenty, it was lavished in every public manner. The horns of bullocks, about to be sacrificed, were gilded. Brutus complains in letters from the Parthian camp, that his shoulder-clasps (*fibulæ*) of the tribunes were of gold. Men wore bracelets in Pliny's time, and women carried gold on their shoes; they had no spectacles, portraits, or dancers, for which to wear the ornament. The ladies (we take his testimony) were all bedecked with gold and gems, even when asleep. Pompey carried in his triumph a crown of his age, we think of the multitude of names, recently imported from Greece, to denote varieties of luxurious research. The most remarkable were of gold, in the house of Antonius; in *contumelium naturæ vitium auro fecit*. It is remarkable that the Romans imported gold, and yet they had mines of gold, or of gold; for example, the annual tribute of the Carthaginians, after the fall of Hannibal, for fifty years. This could not have been from any lack of precious metals, for Cyrus, his contemporary in Asia, found a booty of thirty-four thousand pounds of gold, besides works of art. The wealth of Ebusus, in gold, was incredible; the walls, and the chambers of solid gold. When Cæsar became Dictator, and gave shows to the people, he caused all the Capitolian treasures to be made of silver; in Pliny's time, every provincial town did the same. Caligula exhibited in the Circus, a *pegma*, or selfmoving platform, holding one hundred and twenty silver vases, and a piece of theatric property, some times several stories high, raised and lowered by weights and pulleys. At the triumph over the Jews, Vespasian, and Titus had immense quantities of tapestry, and covered with ivory and gold, so as to represent the taking of Jerusalem and other cities.** In such triumphs, the prisoners were sometimes crowned with a crown of gold, which was called *aurum coronarium*.

At the triumph of Claudius two golden crowns were carried, one weighing seven thousand pounds, and the other nine thousand. Nero, for the decoration of a single day, in order to show his magnificence to Tiridates, king of Armenia, covered the theatre of Pompey with gold. These were events too recent to have been exaggerated by Pliny. In one day, the golden hangings were removed from the vain houses; a wall was gilded as though it were a vase; *parietes, qui jam et ipsi tanquam vasa inaurabantur*.†† The gold-leaf of Nero's museum was lamented in the aria. Gold was applied in marble with the white of eggs; to wood by a glue called *leucophoros*; and to copper, by mercury procured from cinnabar; the gilding was probably not unlike the modern *gold-size*; and the process of *water gilding*, as applied to metals, still includes an amalgam of mercury and gold, as well as the hoeblower's gilding. It would be interesting to inquire how many of the processes of ancient art retain their place in this age of chemical science.

It would be unjust to omit all the scrimonious moralising of Pliny, in regard to the metal in question. The great flagellator, in this opinion, was he who first struck a gold denarius. In quest of precious metals we pursue every fibre of the earth, and, lower above its hollow bowels. And yet we shudder at earthquakes, as if an insulted Mother would not avenge herself. How innocent, how happy, nay, how wholesome, *delicius*, would life be, if we could only be content with what is on the surface of the earth! Art adds its powers to nature, and the most precious of metals is made more precious by art. Gold is a cross sight, by reason of its mine, *arrugiæ*.‡ These vaults sometimes fell and destroyed the miners. In their work they were met by masses of stone which prevented their approach; they worked through by means of fire and vinegar; agents celebrated in Hannibal's passage of the Alps, but in what way employed is not in evidence. It was a method which sometimes suffocated the labourers; *in cuniculis exspet et fumus strangulat*; so they beook them to forehammers, striking of masses of fifty-weight, which had to be carried out night and day. Nothing on earth is harder than this flint-rock, except one thing, quoth Pliny, *inter omnia res, ferro durissimum est*, i.e. Gold-hunger, the Californian appetite, is harder yet. When the galleries are complete, they take away the props (*cervices*), and down comes the mountain! The crash is accompanied by a sound beyond all human conception. Often all these labours and perils are undergone, and yet no gold. It was enough for the ancients, Pliny, as for our California emigrants, *sperare quod experent*.

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* Humboldt's letter to Arago.

† Compare the Spanish Tesoro.

‡ See Plautus, Aulularia, last Scene:—
Nonquam dabo aurum nisi fodiam
Novissime arrugas.

(The Roman *libro*, according to the learned and patient labours of Haec, Warm, Borckh, and others, may be set down as 5294 grains troy, which may be compared with our standard pound of 5760.

‖ Strabo, lib. iii. c. ii. p. 234, ed. Tauch.

¶ Plut. in Camill. ed. Tauch. § xxvii. Niebuhr discredits the whole story.

** Josephus, de Bell. Jud. l. vii. c. 14.

†† Livy, l. xxxix. beginning of the third book.

NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

CAPTAIN DRAYTON.

In a dungeon, dark and dreary,
Cheerless, helpless, and alone,
With the damp earth for his pillow,
For his couch the unyielding stone:
With an friendly hand to aid him,
No kind voice his soul to cheer,
I behold a brother lying—
Wherefore does he linger here?

By what crime, what dead atrocious,
Has he won the felon's doom?
Hidden from the blessed sunlight,
In this prison's fearful gloom,
Gloat a brother's life on freedom,
Did he raise his hand to fight?
No! he dared with dauntless spirit,
To do battle for the right.

He had read the glorious language,
On the Gospel's page displayed,
Of one blood, earth's countless nations,
By a father's hand were made."
And upon the negro's forehead,
By his mandate had been placed,
He beheld the stamp of manhood,
Graven by the Eternal's hand.

Where the banner—star-bespangled,
Of a great republic waves,
With a rent insult employed to aid in enslaving,
He beheld his brethren—slaves!
Forthwith sake, his home he quitted,
Fearless of freedom, life, and fame;
Wicked his aid—a sacrifice,
Worthy of a martyr's name.

'Tis for this I see him lying,
In that dungeon, dark and lone,
E'en within the city bearing
The loved name of WASHINGTON.
Tell it not to Europe's millions,
Pinning, struggling, to be free,
That 'tis thus Columbia tramples
On the shrine of Liberty!

Tell it not in a land barbaric,
For a white man's freedom sought,
By some heathen in his darkness,
Into hopeless bondage brought;
Tell it not in Christian nation,
Slavery lifts its hateful face,
And the white man holds in bondage,
Brethren of a darker race;
'Tis a crime, a deed atrocious,
To obey the voice of God,
To release the weary captive,
Break the oppressor's vengeful rod.

Be it so: on Slavery's altar,
Let the living martyr stand—
Heaven's free winds shall waft the story,
To the earth's remotest strand;
And where'er the gorgeous banner
Of the great Republic waves,
Man shall think, with pitying horror,
Of the *Christian land of slaves*

Modbury, England. E

NATURE AND HER LOVER.

BY CHARLES SACKAT.

I remember the time, thou roving sea,
When thy voice was the voice of Infinity—
A joy, and a dread, and a mystery.

I remember the time, ye young May flowers,
When your odours and beauty were in fields and bowers
Fell on my soul, as on grass the showers.

I remember the time, thou blustering wind,
When thy voice in the woods, to my dreaming mind,
Seem'd the sigh of the Earth for human kind.

I remember the time ye sun and stars,
When ye raised my soul from earth and mars,
And bore it through Heav'n in your golden cars.

And has it then vanished, that dreamful time?
Are the winds, and the seas, and the stars sublime,
Dead to thy soul in his manly prime?

Ah no! ah no! amid sorrow and pain,
When the world and its hosts are against my brain,
In the world of spirit I rove—I reign

I feel a deep and a pure delight
In the luxuries of sound and sight—
In the opening day, in the closing night.

The voices of youth go with me still,
Through the field and the wood, by sea or the plain, and the
In the roar of the sea, in the laugh of the rill.

Every flower is a lover of mine,
Every star is a friend divine,
For me they blossom, for me they shine.

To give me joy the oceans roll.
They breathe their secrets to my soul
With me they sing, with me condole.

Man cannot harm me if he would;
I have such friends for my every mood,
In the overdowing solitude!

Fate cannot touch me, nothing can stir
To pain disease or loss of her
Twixt Nature and her worshipper.

Long as the flowers, preach to me skies;
Ye landscapes, glitter in mine eyes:
Whisper ye deeps, your mysteries

Sigh to me winds, ye forests and,
Sweeten to me even thine flowery sod:
Ye are mine—all mine—in the peace of God.

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ha richness of the vein from the residuum. Sometimes these veins are found at the surface, *rara felicitate*, says Pliny; which reminds us of Humboldt's testimony concerning the gold-washers of Rouda, where *pepitas* or masses of gold, from two to three pounds, and even from eighteen to twenty pounds, are found a few inches below the turf.† During the reign of Nero, one such was opened in Dalmatia which yielded fifty pounds weight daily. The gold of wells, or shafts, was called *canalitum* or *canalense*; the veins were here and there in the rock, which he calls marble, and these channels it derived its name. Tunnelling was known and used in this indication, and as they worked their way the vaults were supported by wooden pillars. The gold of these channels was pounded, washed, fired, formed to powder, or brayed in mortars; processes representative of those which are common in the Virginia mines. The gold from the rock was pounded in a second time to the grinding and the fire; and the *cauta* or crucibles were made of *taxonium*, a white argillaceous earth, as the only thing which could endure the heat.‡

The third method, Pliny regards as Titanic: *opera niceris gigantum*. The mountain sides are penetrated by galleries, here in the rock. It is remarkable months before the workmen come to the light of day; these mines are called *arrugiæ*. It is remarkable that this is the very method used in Spain for a mine, *arrugia*.‡ These vaults sometimes fell and destroyed the miners. In their work they were met by masses of stone which prevented their approach; they worked through by means of fire and vinegar; agents celebrated in Hannibal's passage of the Alps, but in what way employed is not in evidence. It was a method which sometimes suffocated the labourers; *in cuniculis exspet et fumus strangulat*; so they beook them to forehammers, striking of masses of fifty-weight, which had to be carried out night and day. Nothing on earth is harder than this flint-rock, except one thing, quoth Pliny, *inter omnia res, ferro durissimum est*, i.e. Gold-hunger, the Californian appetite, is harder yet. When the galleries are complete, they take away the props (*cervices*), and down comes the mountain! The crash is accompanied by a sound beyond all human conception. Often all these labours and perils are undergone, and yet no gold. It was enough for the ancients, Pliny, as for our California emigrants, *sperare quod experent*.

Another stupendous labour of antiquity, was the diverting of rivers from their beds, in order to wash the debris of these mountains. They were called in this case *corrugi*: the word *corrugi* is still found in Spain.§ This is a delicate business, and requires a careful grading of the surface. A source is sought very high up, and the stream is conducted down by rates or aqueducts. Rocks have to be hewn through, and those who worked at them were sometimes suspended by cords from impending cliffs. The reservoirs, constructed near the summit, were often two hundred feet square and ten feet deep, and from thence the stream was let out by a sort of flood-gate, so as to work a rushing flood before it. When the torrent reached its termination, on the level ground, they dug trenches, and strewed in them, at a gradation of levels, the shrub called *ulex*, which was like rosemary. When Pliny says the ulex was *retinens aurum*, it is doubtful whether he means to indicate a supposed attraction of the small particles, for only half they were made to fall into the prickly bush. Pits were also dug in the trenches, and provided with means to catch the gold. They used these same trenches to the production of the wells; the process could not be accomplished in the wells without obstructing them. The gold of the *arrugiæ* seeded no process of the Romans, being pure metal. It was found in lumps; and when the shafts or wells sometimes produced masses of considerable weight. After the bundles of ulex were dried, they were burned, and their ashes gave up gold wherever found. By these processes, Asturia, Galicia, and Lusitania yielded annually the extraordinary sum of twenty thousand pounds of gold; this most came from Asturia. Pliny thinks no part of the globe showed such fecundity of gold, for so long a period. He adds that unless the ancients had the forbidden mining, Italy would surpass all the earth in the precious metals, and he cites's *lex Censoria*, concerning the gold-works of the Icimuii in the Vercellesian territory (*Borgo Vercelli*), by which the publicans were forbidden to employ more than *five thousand men* in this mine. Strabo speaks of these Icimuiani as about to be ruined by the prodigality of their city in other respects, testifying that Turdetania, in the South of Spain, was more rich in precious metals than any other land. He also speaks of the gold washing, wells, and burning.‖ Aristotle says that shepherds in Spain set fire to the woods, and that from the glowing mass molten silver flowed down.

In addition to what has been said concerning the mines of gold, there are striking indications of its abundance among the Romans. Not indeed in the earlier period, for when they were forced to sue for peace from the Gauls, it was with difficulty that they could amass one thousand pounds weight. This was the occasion, on which occurred the famous story, Brennus threw his sword into the scale, and uttered his *ve victis*.¶ During the consulate of Crassus and Pompey, there were two thousand pounds in the treasure of Jupiter Capitolinus, which had been hidden there in the days of Camillus. Pliny, Virgil, and Silius Italicus, speak of the gold worn in ornament by the ladies of the Sabines—

"Galli per dumos aderant, arcemque tenebant;
Anxia custodiis olim, atque aurea vestis,
Virgatis lucens sagulis, tum Sabina
Auro inuectiatur."—Æn. vii. v. 657.

Manlius was surnamed *Torquatus*, on account of a golden torque, which he took from a Gaul. At the time of the invasion by the Gauls, A. U. C. 364, there were not more than two thousand pounds of gold in the city; the census shows at that time a population of 152,580 freemen. Three hundred and seven years later, Caius Marius the younger, carried from Rome to Perpenna three thousand pounds of gold, after the burning of the several temples. This same sum, Sylla took back, in triumph, with seven thousand pounds of silver; though he had already sent in, from his share of spoils, one hundred pounds weight of gold, and one hundred and fifteen thousand weight of silver.

When gold became plenty, it was lavished in every public manner. The horns of bullocks, about to be sacrificed, were gilded. Brutus complains in letters from the Parthian camp, that his shoulder-clasps (*fibulæ*) of the tribunes were of gold. Men wore bracelets in Pliny's time, and women carried gold on their shoes; they had no spectacles, portraits, or dancers, for which to wear the ornament. The ladies (we take his testimony) were all bedecked with gold and gems, even when asleep. Pompey carried in his triumph a crown of his age, we think of the multitude of names, recently imported from Greece, to denote varieties of luxurious research. The most remarkable were of gold, in the house of Antonius; in *contumelium naturæ vitium auro fecit*. It is remarkable that the Romans imported gold, and yet they had mines of gold; for example, the annual tribute of the Carthaginians, after the fall of Hannibal, for fifty years. This could not have been from any lack of precious metals, for Cyrus, his contemporary in Asia, found a booty of thirty-four thousand pounds of gold, besides works of art. The wealth of Ebusus, in gold, was incredible; the walls, and the chambers of solid gold. When Cæsar became Dictator, and gave shows to the people, he caused all the Capitolian treasures to be made of silver; in Pliny's time, every provincial town did the same. Caligula exhibited in the Circus, a *pegma*, or self-moving platform, holding one hundred and twenty silver vases, and a piece of theatric property, some times several stories high, raised and lowered by weights and pulleys. At the triumph over the Jews, Vespasian, and Titus had immense quantities of tapestry, and covered with ivory and gold, so as to represent the taking of Jerusalem and other cities.** In such triumphs, the prisoners were sometimes crowned with a crown of gold, which was called *aurum coronarium*.

At the triumph of Claudius two golden crowns were carried, one weighing seven thousand pounds, and the other nine thousand. Nero, for the decoration of a single day, in order to show his magnifi-

* Compare the Spanish Tesoro.

† See Plautus, Aulularia, last Scene:—
Nonquam dabo aurum nisi fodiam
Novissime arrugas.

‡ (The Roman *libra*, according to the learned and patient labours of Haec, Warm, Borckh, and others, may be set down as 5294 grains troy, which may be compared with our standard pound of 5760.

‖ Strabo, lib. iii. c. ii. p. 234, ed. Tauch.

¶ Plut. in Camill. ed. Tauch. § xxvii. Niebuhr discredits the whole story.

** Josephus, de Bell. Jud. l. vii. c. 14.

†† Livy, l. xxxix. beginning of the third book.

"Great Dry. II. 835, Art. *Spain*.

From Foreign Publications.

Punch gives a seasonable moral:—"If you wish to good at this season of the year, do it for goodness sake

La Democratie Pacifique says, that Lamartine "*Girondins*," and some of his other works, have been translated into Chinese by order of the Emperor.

At the last sitting of the Academy of Sciences, Pa Sir David Brewster was elected one of the eight foreign associate members of the National Institute of France vacant by the death of the celebrated chymist, Berzeli

MORAL CAUSE.—MORAL CAUSE is finally effced g the distinction between Cowper Gorman and SAXON, and then distinction between master and slave. None can venti to fix the precise moment at which either distinc ceased. Some trace it to the time of the Norman fee might perhaps have been found late in the fourteen century. Some hold that it was the institution of villen Some are desirous of the curious to be at the days of Saints; nor but that institution ever, to this hour, b abolished by statute.—*Macaulay's History of Engla*

IS SLAVERY [reclaims *Jerrold's News*] not only to be tolerated, but to be made legal in the Republic; but to be spread, to be perpetuated? Is the sacrificing to be spread with the language which may be k less by no slave is the dominions of Queen Victori

BONAPARTE AND O'BRIEN.—On the 25th May, 18 Louis Napoleon was at Ham, and Smith O'Brien in Cl On the very same day Smith O'Brien was disclad from the cool cellar of the House of Commons, a sitting with the President of the Chair, in December Louis Napoleon is President of the French Repub Mr. Smith O'Brien a prisoner and all but forgotten.

LOLA MONTEZ IN LONDON.—This favourite of major when majesty was powerful in Bavaria attended on Sunday at Hanover Square Chapel, smothing about conte gage, made a declaration before the authorities in long room of Cosmon House, respecting them, which sistered with the nature of "Marie, Countess of La felt."—*Jerrold's News.*

LOUIS LUCIEN BONAPARTE.—The gentleman's lares and general appearance more resemble the Eu ror's than is the case with any of his kinsmen. Th ministry at Lisbon, recently, smothing about conte gage, made a declaration before the authorities in long room of Cosmon House, respecting them, which sistered with the nature of "Marie, Countess of La felt."—*Jerrold's News.*

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The advan ages of the Pacific Railroad are be ecovery of great country will be inestimable. I compute that we shall soon see no such a thing as cent in all our model Republic. We won't de ments oversuffering and small mortality among ser ever. I contemplate that we are set up with our gold mines to all eternity, and shall have ments of ivory, and our pockets bein chock full on and mint-julips for everlastin. In course, we shall be masters of the whole world, for gold is the sin ners of war, and our pockets bein chock full on it, we can do just what we please.—*Punch.*

In London and its vicinity, up to the time at wh we [*Jerrold's News*] are writing, the cases of cholera ready reported are 689; in the country, 421; mak total of 1,090. In Scotland the number is 5,448 4,326 more than those which have occurred in Engla Wales, and, therefore, nearly four times as m cholera in Scotland as in Ireland. In the Sister Isla all accounts there is at least four times as much cholera in Ireland as in the places—by instance, Glasgow which are the most remarkably filthy, have been there severely, attacked.

A YOUNG IRELAND AMBASSADOR.—Tom Mooney, Provident Bank renown, we learn from the New Y *Nation*, has been appointed a trade agent for Ireland, ment the establishment of a Great Irish Fund—the ar interests of which, he thinks, would be sufficient to i tion the Irish people to assume the Irish peopl political rights and military science. It Tom, who ' worthy ambassador, from "the earnest men" here Ireland, is a man of no mean talent, and unknowin instruct